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CONFIDENTIAL.

Further Correspondence respecting Turkey.

PART XIV.

[E 2935/257/44] No. 1.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 4.)

(No. 334.)

Sir,

Therapia, June 29, 1927.

ON the 23rd June it was suddenly announced that the President of the Republic was at last to gratify the wishes of the inhabitants of Constantinople by visiting this town in the very near future. There have been similar announcements in the last two years, but this time there is no doubt that the Ghazi intends to come. Detachments of the Republican Guard and numbers of detectives have already arrived from Chan Kaya, Dolma Bagcheh palace is being prepared and an elaborate programme has been drawn up to enable the inhabitants to offer an appropriate welcome.

2. The Ghazi will embark on the ex-imperial yacht at Ismid on the 1st July, off the Princes Islands specially chosen representatives of various Turkish institutions will go on board to greet him, he will steam past lines of ferry boats containing school children, members of "Turk ojaks" and other associations, will step ashore at the palace and there receive the congratulations of individuals.

3. The official programme, of which I enclose a copy,* is a typical mixture of elaborate detail and vague generalities which in any other country would lead to hopeless confusion, but here, helped by the simple police method of telling anyone who wants to go anywhere "yasak" ("it is forbidden"), will probably work out all right.

4. For the last few days the press has been almost delirious in its expressions of the popular joy at the Ghazi's visit and, by force of mass suggestion, has possibly worked up a certain amount of enthusiasm, largely inspired by curiosity. No doubt, too, the functionaries, in their *tenue de rigueur* of tail coat, patent leather shoes, white gloves and top hats, and the representatives of the unofficial establishments and associations who cannot rise to such glories and are allowed to appear in a *chapeau melon* will gladly suffer the rays of a July sun on the Bosphorus at mid-day for the sake of a glimpse of the great man, but I am not convinced of any great spontaneous manifestation of popular emotion. It is noteworthy that the programme gives no opportunity to the real Turkish centre of Constantinople, Stamboul, to share in the welcome, though it would have been easy for the presidential yacht to have landed the Ghazi at Seraglio Point, where a brief popular reception could have been arranged with facility and success, while the precautions taken for the President's safety at Dolma Bagcheh surpass anything that Abdul Hamid could have devised in his most suspicious mood. When I contrast the way in which, on similar occasions, President Masaryk went among his people, I cannot but feel that while the Ghazi may justly claim the title of Saviour, he has not yet won that of Father, of his Country.

5. The actual reason for the visit at this juncture is a little obscure. There have been alarming rumours lately about the Ghazi's health, and it is certain that two German specialists were sent for. The report passed on confidentially by the German Embassy was that the specialists found nothing organically wrong with the President and considered that

* Not printed.

he had a good expectation of life. It may be assumed that the doctors added the proviso that he should live normally. In any case, it is believed that for the last few weeks he has been very temperate. It is suggested that the doctors may have recommended the Ghazi to try a lower altitude than Angora on account of his heart which, according to some rumours, has been giving him trouble. If it is true that Angora is too high for the Ghazi, various possibilities present themselves for the future of the capital.

6. However, whether the Ghazi is coming here for reasons of health or not, it is possible that other considerations as well have weighed with him. To relieve the monotony of his life at Chan Kaya and to escape the Angora summer, he usually makes a tour somewhere. He has never yet ventured to come here. He may now feel that, with opposition thoroughly repressed, with the policing of Constantinople well in hand, and with the Angora régime firmly established, he can come here without danger for his life and without the risk of losing his individuality among the age-long traditions of Constantinople.

7. The visit has, of course, caused certain preoccupations in the Diplomatic Body. The Turks profess to have no official knowledge of our existence here and, therefore, we are not to be received by the President, nor invited to any of the celebrations. On the other hand, were we to be logical and adopt a corresponding attitude of remaining officially ignorant of the Ghazi's visit, misrepresentation and unnecessary prejudice would arise. We have accordingly decided to take a *via media*, which consists in flying our flags for the three days of official rejoicings and arranging some form of modest illumination of our gateways at night—in my case, chiefly with a view to prevent the windows of His Majesty's Embassy from the stones of exuberant patriots. My German colleague, whose enormous barrack rises sheer above the Bosphorus, will have to pay for the beauty of the site and illuminate the whole façade of his Embassy. We shall further, if the presidential guards allow us to land from our launches, write our names in the presidential book.

8. M. Nadolny, who, as acting doyen, has discussed the question of our position with the Turkish authorities, has, as a riposte to their official ignorance of our existence, given them an unexpected nut to crack. He has not contested their theory that they only know us in the capital, but has pointed out that when the Head of a State makes a tour in the provinces, it is the invariable custom for him to receive the foreign consuls in important towns. If that is not done here, the most important provincial town of Turkey, foreign opinion will not be favourably impressed. At the time of writing, no consequent amendment of the official programme has come to my knowledge, but I hope that the ineffable "chef du protocole" is being taken to task for this lamentable oversight.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 2937/257/44] No. 2.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 4.)

(No. 341.)
Sir, *Therapia, June 29, 1927.*

I HAVE the honour to report that the Grand National Assembly rose on the 26th instant. Compared with the orgy of legislation in which it indulged a year ago, its activities since it met last autumn have been mild. It has dealt with few things and those have been for the most part matters of administrative routine. Until quite recently it has had some difficulty in finding anything to do. The adjournment of its rising has been continually deferred on one pretext or another, partly, it would seem, on account of differences among the Ghazi's henchmen in the Government and in the Popular party, and partly because the Ghazi was not physically fit to deliver the great speech which was to have followed on the end of the parliamentary session.

2. However, with the Ghazi's decision to come here (see my despatch No. 334 of to-day's date) came the announcement that the Assembly was to close its labours, and it is stated to have done so by legislating at the rate of thirty laws an hour. This brings to an end the second Angora Parliament, which has run its appointed course of four years. The new elections have already been ordered and, according to the Constitution, the first act of the new Assembly when it meets in November will be the election of a President of the Republic. The choice is not in doubt.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

[E 3041/1672/44] No. 3.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 11.)

(No. 348.)
Sir, *Therapia, July 5, 1927.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith a note by Mr. Helm, second secretary at Angora, of a conversation with one of the Deputies for Constantinople.

2. The conversation is interesting inasmuch as, especially in view of Edib Bey's position with the Ghazi, it may be taken as a bid for British support generally and as a special request for us to encourage British capital to come into the country. Mr. Helm answered well on this point, which is one where I fear it will become increasingly difficult for the Turks to differentiate between such appreciation as His Majesty's Government may manifest of the general foreign policy of Turkey as at present directed, and the concrete reluctance of British capital to sink itself in Turkish enterprise, the more so as Germany appears always ready to encourage German ventures, however hazardous they may be as a financial speculation, for the sake of an economic position in Turkey outshining that of other countries.

3. Incidentally, the conversation is a gratifying instance of the excellent personal relations which Mr. Knox and Mr. Helm have succeeded in establishing with influential factors in Angora.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 3.

Note by Mr. Helm.

(Confidential.)

LAST night in the train I had a long conversation of some interest with Colonel Edib Servet Bey, one of the Deputies for Constantinople and a man of considerable influence at Angora. At first sight Edib Bey does not strike one as being endowed with more than average intelligence, but as I have got to know him better I have come to appreciate increasingly his very sound common sense.

He has, of course, come down for the Ghazi's reception, and our conversation started about the President, who, I said, I had been glad to see was now looking much better. Edib Bey said that the Ghazi was badly in need of a change. Too long residence at Angora was not desirable, and he personally strongly favoured a summer capital on the Bosphorus now that the position of Angora was secure. (This scheme is finding increasing favour at Angora.) The Ghazi had recently become very nervous and rather querulous as the régime which he was following was very strict—not more than two small glasses of alcohol per day and other excesses correspondingly limited.

The Ghazi would not be accompanied by Ismet Pasha. The latter was suffering from rheumatism and was going almost at once to Broussa to take the baths. He might later come to Constantinople—where Safvet Bey will also come in a fortnight in connection with the elections—but he would not go abroad this year.

Edib Bey then threw a little light on the Mosul settlement. He asked if I thought it had been a good thing for Turkey, and I said that in my opinion it had been a good thing for both sides. There were now no serious questions outstanding between the two countries and relations were far more cordial than anyone could have dreamed to be possible only four years ago. He said that the Mosul settlement had at the time given rise to much heartburning, and that even now some people were still wondering whether Turkey had done right. "However," he said, "it was not in our hands. The Ghazi and Ismet Pasha decided at any price to reach a settlement with England and so it had to be." They were still all out for a British friendship, but sometimes got rather discouraged as a result of British coldness. "Before the war, we regarded Great Britain with her Russian ally as our deadly foe. Now we know that we have nothing to fear from Britain, whose policy we know is open, but we never quite know where we are with Russia. We want to advance along the road with England."

At this stage he asked me why it was that British capital still refused to come to Turkey, which was so badly in need of money for reconstruction, and which would so readily welcome reputable British financial assistance. Telling him that I would speak plainly, I asked him whether, if he had lent

large sums of money over a long period of years to a certain man who, at long last, not only refused to pay interest, but also refused to recognise his old debts, he would himself—and that when times were hard and he could get much better security elsewhere—be disposed to rush in and grant further loans to his defaulting creditor. He said that, of course, he would not. A leading French banker had last year said almost the same thing to him, and he had reported the conversation to the Ghazi. The coupons question would, he was sure, now be definitely settled, but he wondered whether with its settlement funds would be forthcoming. I said that a settlement would, in my opinion, do much to re-establish confidence in Turkey in the financial markets of Europe, and a return of confidence was the initial requirement. He made it clear that what Turkey wanted was the support of the London and Paris markets.

A complimentary reference to Tewfik Rushdi Bey did not bring much of a response beyond a suggestion that Turkish diplomacy was directed by the Ghazi and Ismet Pasha rather than by the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Edib Bey talked at some length about his mission last year to Mecca, where he represented Turkey at the Islamic Congress. He described the sensation he created by appearing in a bowler hat with the result that he was at first taken to be an Italian! He had throughout striven to keep the discussions of the Congress within their proper limits. A delegate having raised the Mosul question, Edib Bey had stated that as that was a political question affecting his Government he must leave the Congress if the discussion continued. He described the Ali brothers as mad and said that he had told them so. He was glad that Ibn Saud had signed the treaty with us. He had seen him last year and told him that he must put his faith in Great Britain, who alone could help him. Turkey was too remote, and in any case the Ghazi was determined at all costs to avoid foreign complications or adventures beyond the national frontiers. This was the touchstone of the Ghazi's policy. Numerous efforts had been made to get him to abandon it, but every offer had been and would be summarily rejected. There was more than enough work to be done within the national frontiers, and in the prosecution of that work foreign assistance would always be welcome, but on the one essential condition that Turkish independence was not compromised in the very slightest degree.

Edib Bey finally enquired whether I had any information regarding the prospects of oil production in the Mosul Vilayet. I had to confess that I know nothing.

The conversation lasted for rather more than two hours, and I have written these notes because I feel that Edib Bey was expressing views which others held besides himself. He is essentially a moderate and is in extremely close contact with the Ghazi. In recent months I have got to know him extremely well over the bridge table and at the club. This is the first time we have discussed politics in any way, and the trend of the conversation was almost entirely directed by him.

ALEX. K. HELM.

Therapia, June 30, 1927.

[E 3042/257/44] No. 4.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 11.)

(No. 340.)

Therapia, July 5, 1927.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that Nusret Bey, who since 1924 has been the delegate here of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, has now been appointed President of the Council of State which is in process of formation. The delegation will therefore come to an end, except perhaps that a secretary may remain here to deal with visas and such matters of routine. Since nearly all the missions have been established or represented at Angora for some time, this change is not unexpected. So far as I am concerned, I do not expect that it will cause me inconvenience, for I have always corresponded direct with the Ministry.

2. Nusret Bey, whose real position in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs was that of chief legal advisor, is a good selection for the presidency of the new Council of State, a body whose chief duties are to settle disputes between Government departments, to give opinions on Parliamentary Bills, and to examine draft concessions.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 3047/257/44] No. 5

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 11.)

(No. 355.)

Therapia, July 6, 1927.

Sir,

IN continuation of my despatch No. 344 of the 29th June I have the honour to inform you that the long announced and oft deferred visit of the Ghazi Pasha to Constantinople took place on the 1st July.

2. The President travelled to Ismid by special train accompanied by four or five of his most intimate friends, and was met by a deputation from the town of Constantinople, and, with a happy blending of East and West, by the salute of twenty-one guns and the sacrifice of a number of sheep. He proceeded on board the ex-imperial yacht, which was to convey him to the Palace of Dolma Bagtche on the Bosphorus.

3. For three days Constantinople had been feverishly prepared for the honour that was coming to it. Triumphal arches studded with electric lights were set up across the principal streets—at the cost of the Belgian Electric Light Company—the principal buildings and police stations were illuminated, and every house made to show its flag. From early in the morning all the local passenger boats had been mobilised for the transport of the sightseers and of the deputations which went out to meet the Ghazi in the Marmara, and the walls of the Old Seraglio and the streets along the Bosphorus were lined with sightseers.

4. Two hours late, the presidential yacht appeared off the Princes Islands, followed at a respectful distance by six units of the Turkish fleet. A bugle sounded, a few hands clapped, the sirens wailed, but not a cheer was raised and not a sign of enthusiasm was shown as the Ghazi passed rapidly and at a chilling distance down the line of waiting ferry boats.

5. A procession was slowly formed behind the yacht to escort it in triumph to the palace, but by the time the vessels were fairly emerging from a complicated series of manœuvres the President was already landing at Dolma Bagtche.

6. The frenzied enthusiasm of the crowds, of which the press for the last four days had been full, existed less in reality than in the minds of the not-uninterested journalists. Constantinople seemed indeed extremely apathetic. A holiday, a warm evening, a natural curiosity and a desire to see the decorations brought many people into the streets, but a two hours' wait in a July sun and an impenetrable cordon of police and guards brought specially from Chan Knya calmed any enthusiasm, and kept the loyal populace at a respectful distance.

7. The President was received at the palace by representatives of the various communities and interests of the town, and himself received the foreign consular corps. The torchlight procession which was to have been a spontaneous expression of the joy and loyalty of every section of the town could not be organised in time for Friday evening, and only made a belated appearance twenty-four hours afterwards. It was remarkable, according to the local press, for unexampled splendour and for an outburst of popular enthusiasm, but those who saw it were more impressed by the pitiful tawdriness of the whole scene and the entire lack of interest which the town as a whole showed in it.

8. I find it difficult to attribute to this visit of the Ghazi the importance given to it by an adulatory and interested press.

9. The visit, to my mind, does indeed mark a definite stage in the establishment of public order, and of the security of the present régime. After an absence of eight years the Ghazi finds that he can again revisit the centre of the Sultanate, of the Caliphate and of the opposition which he last year so violently overthrew. His return to the town which he last left to take up the sword against all that it then stood for, marks the highest point in the personal triumph of the President. But I should hesitate to attach to this return any conjectures as to the future of the town, or any supposition that a policy which has for eight years deliberately scorned, if not actively repressed, Constantinople would now be modified, or that Angora and Anatolia would in any way cease to be centre and the strength of the new Turkey.

10. To me the interest lies rather in the effect that this visit will have upon the President himself.

11. I cannot yet believe that anything like a permanent residence in Constantinople is in contemplation, but if, as is currently reported, his doctors have ordered the Ghazi to spend several months at an altitude less trying to the heart than that of Angora, it will be interesting to see the effect that Constantinople with

its charm, its climate and its traditions will have upon a resolution which has carried him through eight consecutive years of the Anatolian uplands. Whether the President is sufficiently strong in his idealism to resist the soft enchantment of Stamboul, and sufficiently Western in his mentality to withstand the attraction which increasing comfort and personal wealth must offer to the riper years of every Oriental autocrat, only time can show.

12. What is certain, so far as I can gather from the testimony of competent onlookers, is that the Turk of Stamboul has not unnaturally joined his polyglot brethren from Pera and Galata in showing to the champion of Anatolia, who has slowly been strangling the commerce of this place, a chilly welcome which only imagination and press adulation, coupled with decorations enforced by the police, can transform into a "triumphal return of the Saviour of Turkey."

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 3049/257/44] No. 6.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 11.)

(No. 357.)

Sir, *Therapia, July 6, 1927.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 355 of the 6th instant recording the arrival of the President of the Republic at Constantinople, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of a memorandum by His Majesty's acting consul-general on the reception of the consular body on that occasion.

2. As I informed you in my despatch No. 334 of the 29th June last, the necessity for this reception had been overlooked by those in charge of the arrangements, and its rather haphazard nature is, therefore, not surprising. Indeed, it is fortunate that there were not even greater complications, as several of the missions here have no separate consulates, but only a section of the mission allotted to consular work, under the general superintendence of the Ambassador or Minister. Some of my diplomatic colleagues were, therefore, in considerable doubt as to whether they should or should not attend the consular reception in their consular capacity. This meant more confusion and quarrels about precedence, and I urged my German colleague to take the line that only regular consular officers should attend the ceremony.

3. As regards the attitude of the Diplomatic Body on this occasion, the question was settled on the lines foreshadowed in my despatch No. 334. On the morning after the Ghazi's arrival the Heads of Missions went separately to Dolma Bagtché and wrote their names in the Presidential Book. In this respect I have heard no criticism of Turkish methods. Speaking for myself, everything was done most punctiliously. My Ambassadorial flag was saluted by each of the guardships in turn as the Embassy launch went by; the place at the Palace landing-stage where the launch should come alongside was clearly indicated, sentries and police saluted as I stepped ashore, and a lieutenant conducted me to the main hall where the book was laid out for signature.

4. I only trust that it will now be considered on both sides that all the requirements of etiquette have been properly met, and that my Ambassadorial colleagues will not set about seeking the honour of entertaining the Ghazi in their summer residences. I fear, however, that it is quite likely that the Soviet Ambassador, who returns from leave in a few days, will make an effort in this direction, an effort which, if successful, will be rather tiresome. Should his reception include the Diplomatic Body or Heads of Missions, I, of course, could not attend—indeed, I presume he would not invite me. But if the Ghazi goes to the Russian, then the German and the French and the Italian will want to score a similar success, and if I do nothing, my attitude will be attributed to displeasure at the Russophil leanings of the Ghazi. On the other hand, I am living in a hired house not suitable for such an entertainment, while the Therapia garden is a wilderness, and not in a condition to be the scene of an official festivity.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 6.

Memorandum.

IN consequence of a notification from the delegation, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, that the President of the Republic was arriving in Constantinople on Friday, the 1st instant, and would receive the foreign consuls, and after communication with certain of my colleagues, I proceeded to Dolma Bagtché Palace at 6·30 P.M. on that day and was shown into the large waiting room on the left-hand side of the entrance door, where I found most of my colleagues and the Œcumenical Patriarch already assembled. The President's arrival had been announced for 3 P.M., and as he did not arrive until 6 P.M., we anticipated a considerable wait. However, the reception of officers of the garrison and of officials and Deputies was evidently speeded up, for we were conducted to his Excellency's presence by Hussein Nazmi Bey at 7·45 P.M. There was some doubt as to who was the senior consular officer, the French, Roumanian, Persian and Argentine consuls-general all laying claim to the honour, which the delegation, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, apparently did not attempt to dissipate. The French consul-general had gone so far as to prepare an address of welcome which he proposed to read to the Ghazi. The delegation cut the middle paragraphs out of this address, and just before we were conducted to Mustafa Kemal's presence, Nazmi Bey told M. de la Forcade that no speeches or addresses were to be made. We were led, some twenty-three of us, in any order, through corridors lighted with electricity to the large hall, where his late Majesty Abd-ul-Hamid held the ceremony of the *baisemain*, and which I saw last in the company of Prince Omar Faruk and Mr. and Mrs. Amery. To our surprise we found the room in semi-darkness, with not a single light of any kind burning. We were conducted past the President, who, like all those, with the exception of officers of the garrison, taking part in the reception, was wearing civilian clothes. His Excellency shook hands with each of us as we passed him and thanked those of us, including myself, who welcomed him on his arrival in Constantinople. Owing to the semi-darkness it was impossible to see the President's features distinctly.

Constantinople, July 4, 1927. W. D. W. MATTHEWS.

[E 3160/1761/44] No. 7.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 19.)

(No. 364.)

Sir, *Therapia, July 12, 1927.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 351 of the 6th instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a note by Mr. Helm on his journey through Anatolia in search of the missing British airmen. Now that close contact between British officials and the people of Anatolia is rare, it is interesting to have these observations on the conditions of government and travel and life in the interior.

2. It may be regrettable, but it is not unpleasant to hear that the "modernisation of Turkey" has as yet not percolated to the villages even of Western Anatolia; the mosque is still the centre of village life, and womenfolk still shun the gaze of shameless men. Time is of no paramount importance, and Eastern courtesy overrides its pressing calls in shop, office or meeting-place.

3. To judge by Mr. Helm's experiences the Turkish population is not discontented or fretful; but the vast distances traversed without meeting any but shepherds or occasional travellers are an eloquent indication of the country's paramount need of a large increase in numbers to make good the losses occasioned by war, mass deportation and exchange of populations.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 7.

Five Days with a Ford on the Anatolian Tableland.

IN a diary written from day to day during my journey, I endeavoured to describe in detail my efforts to ascertain the fate of the unfortunate airmen. In what follows, therefore, reference to the search will as far as possible be omitted and I shall confine myself to such impressions as remain to me after five continuous days of motoring in the Anatolian tableland. During that period a total distance of approximately 1,500 kilom. was covered, and as my entire energies were devoted to the one object of my journey, no time, or, indeed, inclination, was left for such observation as might be expected from even the blindest of energetic American tourists.

The journey started at Angora and finished at Eskishehr, but involved a double crossing of the desert, and was done throughout by one Ford car with a chauffeur picked up in the streets of Angora. With him the chauffeur had an assistant who occupied himself chiefly with slumber except when he was roused to ask questions regarding the aeroplane. When he did so he almost invariably had it going the wrong way. Thus, in front of me I had two distinct types, the chauffeur, quick as lightning, thoroughly reliable, intelligent and indefatigable, and his assistant, sleepy and stupid, but likeable—in fact, in some ways the old and the modern conception of the Turk. These two were my only companions in those five days of energetic travel and offered me endless amusement. The chauffeur admittedly did not know any of the country to be covered, and after the first day, when it had at last dawned on him that as little as possible must be left to chance, he was all that could be desired. His assistant, the likeable Hassan, professed to know parts of the road, but, as the result of taking his advice was almost inevitably disaster, both he and the chauffeur began to learn what, to all orientals, is a difficult lesson, namely, not to pretend to know when, in fact, they know nothing.

The first day's journey from Angora to Konia was the longest and certainly the least interesting. Here one saw nothing but the arid treeless desert with villages at long intervals and nothing to set against the hard glare of a broiling sun. The track, for at a distance of 20 miles from Angora it becomes nothing more, is only passable in the summer months and is not too easily found. One lesson learnt at an early stage and one which might have cost us dear was to beware at a fork of taking the more promising of two tracks. This we did about 100 kilom. from Angora. After ten minutes it had begun to peter out, but we went joyfully on until there was a nasty crash—we had hit a large rock in the middle of the track and the sump had been pierced apparently beyond repair. However, by great good fortune, we were near a village, a villager appeared, after a long search a bit of wood was found, with it and two of my handkerchiefs the hole was plugged, and after three hours our journey was resumed, the villager, helpful and attractive, as I found all the peasants to be, accompanying us for a mile, and so having his first ride in a motor-car.

Having rejoined the main track, we were able to maintain a good speed as the country is comparatively level and nothing was to be seen beyond an occasional shepherd and many large birds of prey. The latter, indeed, appear to be fit owners of such a land, whose only conspicuous features were the large salt lake sparkling in the sun to the left and in front the mountain range, after rounding which at a steady 30 miles per hour we found Konia set in a fringe of trees—the first signs of verdure seen for a distance of nearly 200 miles—and its Vali, who told me, as he had done six months ago, that he was going in for extensive irrigation projects and that a modern system of electric lighting would be completed " within a few weeks."

A glance at the map shows the road from Konia to Afion Karahissar to be of the " first class," and in this way the uninitiated might well be misled. The Turks know two kinds of road—the " chaussée " and the " kara yol " or earth track. They are proud of their " chaussées." My experience is that they have little reason to be, for nothing comparable to the Konia-Afion first-class road can be imagined. It is true that the same area is served by the railway and that, therefore, a good road is not essential except where, as is so often the case, the station is at a considerable distance from the town of the same name, and my general experience was that such lateral roads were excellent. Elsewhere, however, similar conditions prevailed, and advice to the motorist must be to avoid the " chaussée " and pin one's faith to the " kara yol." Along all this stretch which, with frequent digressions, occupied two

entire days, the maximum speed possible was 20 kilom. per hour, while near the village of Chai a distance of rather less than a kilom. was covered in an hour, during which we had to fill in ruts and ditches with stones in order to continue our journey at all. Thereafter the road had got into such a state of disrepair that for a distance of 30 kilom. to the east of Afion Karahissar it is being remade and one is promised that by the end of another year this " chaussée " will not be altogether unworthy of its name.

The country between Konia and Afion Karahissar is, however, not uninteresting, and, given reasonable attention, would probably be moderately fertile. Villagers with whom I spoke said that the crops this year would be the poorest in living memory—a statement which a glance at the miserable crops made one quite ready to believe—but as no peasant in any country ever had a " good year," it may be that here, in spite of appearances to the contrary, things were not so very much worse than usual.

Moreover, however good may be the reasons given for the lack of vegetation on the central Anatolian tableland, these cannot be invoked here. The road for the most of its length crosses the northern foothills of the Western Taurus range, the summits of which are still covered with snow, and from which numerous quickly flowing streams descend. The water thus abundantly available is, however, not utilised until after many weary hours of bumping one reaches the outskirts of Akshehr, the native town of the almost mythical Nasreddin Hodja. Here, indeed, a surprise is in store. After many hours of travel one has come to realise that the sight of a solitary tree in the distance means that there is a mud village clustered round it. If there are several trees, then one must be prepared for a town. At Akshehr, however, things are not quite so, for the outer fringe of trees merely heralds the beginning of orchards and large beds of poppies which one traverses for about three miles before reaching the town itself. Here at least, as at Chai, some distance further on, use is made of the gifts of nature with results which would be nothing but soothing to the tired human eye were it not for the swarms of flies of a gigantic size to which " our hodja " makes frequent reference in his stories.

Akshehr is the Brusa of the tableland and suffers little by the comparison. Behind, instead of Olympus, there is the snow-capped Sultan Dagh, and in front, though one misses the wonderful verdure of the Brusa plain, Akshehr can at least boast a colourable imitation, while in the distance one sees the large Akshehr Gul glistening in the sunshine. Here, as at Brusa, one finds water in every street, while here, as nowhere else in Turkey, so far as I know it, there is a capable and energetic administration. The town is clean, the streets are well paved, there are a few good modern houses, the inhabitants appear prosperous and happy, and there is an excellent system of electric lighting, in the installation of which the town's most famous son has not been forgotten, for throughout the hours of darkness his tomb is illuminated by a power of which he never dreamed.

At Akshehr one has strayed into a garden, and with regret one leaves it to return to the desert, which, with the exception of some vegetation at Chai, continues uninterruptedly to and includes Afion Karahissar. For hours the twin rocks on which the latter town is built are visible, and the closer one approaches the more forbidding does the appearance of the town become. Here is not even the solitary tree to afford a little much-needed shade. The town is essentially a part of its two black rocks, and the administration seems to have striven to abet nature in one of her less happy works. Almost impassable streets, broken-down deserted houses and a general air of poverty and decadence, doubtless resulting from the forcible departure of a large number of Christian inhabitants, at once give a feeling of depression and something of terror, which the dominating rocks only serve to intensify.

It is therefore not without relief that one leaves the " Black Fortress " behind, even though one's destination be again the desert. The latter is, however, not reached at once, for as far as Bulavadin the country is fertile, and in the early morning the peasants are already well through the day's work. Whole villages are on trek to the " yaila " or summer pastures, the " kara yol " leaves nothing to be desired, the morning air is fresh and bracing, and life almost seems good again. A good three hours' run brings us to Bulavadin, the seat of a Kaïmakam, and a prosperous little township. With trembling we hear that the road ahead as far as Azizie is a chaussée, and that it is " good "—either qualification being enough to damn any road on the tableland, as was proved by the fact that this proved to be the solitary exception. From Bulavadin to Sivri Hissar we followed what was roughly the

extreme limit of the Greek advance of six years ago, and at least as far as Azizie, a small town set in the middle of a number of mud villages, reached by passing over a saddle of the Emir Dagh range, the inhabitants have been rewarded with an excellent road. From Azizie onwards the earth track is reverted to and continues until the upper reaches of the Sakaria, where it suddenly ends, and one finds one's way as best one can across a nasty marsh to ascend the barren white chalky slopes which rise steadily to the bare, forbidding heights of the aptly-named Sivri Hissar, which for nearly 50 miles has been visible ahead. Seldom, indeed, can one find two places so well named, so similar and so close together as these two fortresses, the one with its two black rocks and the other with its saw-like ridge into which it is built. The two are about equally inhospitable, and are only there as far as one can ascertain in order to be avoided for many valid reasons.

Fortunately, however, between them, in the valley of the Sakaria there is for those who seek it a very real joy. We tumbled upon it by accident. Unable to profit from previous experience and with no possibility of enquiring, we preferred what seemed a very promising track to one which looked as if it might lead to a wayside farm, and, after rattling along it merrily for perhaps 5 miles, found ourselves faced without warning by a high bank and a broad ditch. The Ford, however, emerged triumphant, and after crossing a couple of ploughed fields we found ourselves in a largish village. The men, we were assured, were all in the fields, but not so the headman and a few others. I was taken to the former—a delightful old Roumelian of perhaps 75 summers. What if I was told later that he ruled the village with a rod of iron: it was indeed refreshing to meet one of his type and to remark the respect with which he himself and his every utterance were treated. His offer of a coffee was gladly accepted, and for twenty exquisite minutes on a hot summer afternoon we reclined together on the matting-covered balcony of his mud-house, and discussed such problems as Anglo-Russian relations—a matter on which he had decided views—while he also gave me my first news of the successful exploits of certain American aviators. It is not in remote British villages alone that the daily newspapers are thoroughly and intelligently read.

From Sivri Hissar to Eskishehr is an easy five hours' journey by car. A new road has been built for the greater part of the way, and its surface, judged by Turkish standards, is distinctly good. With a view to prosecuting my search more thoroughly, however, and being assured that a Ford could make a way, I decided to make a *détour* to the north and to reach Eskishehr by way of Sarikeny and the Angora Railway. No information was obtained, but I did get convincing evidence—if such had been required—that a Ford can go anywhere on earth, whether that be over mountains or across rivers and bogs. Throughout there was the same tale of very scattered villages and barrenness. Yet, even so, tracks branched off what we took to be the main one with disconcerting frequency and for no apparent reason. Having finally abandoned the railway side as hopeless, we, for the first and only time, got really lost, and merely carried on because not a soul was to be seen in the whole country-side. At last, after what seemed an endless half-hour, two women were seen working some distance away. Hassan nimbly set off to enquire the way to Eskishehr, but had not got more than a few yards when yells were heard from the women, who ran off in the opposite direction, throwing coverings over their heads and shouting: "Go on your way. We are women. Go and find a man!" Indeed, no other course was open to us, and deliverance was only vouchsafed us a few miles further on, when to our astonishment we came across a broken-down Ford. This car had come from a small town 20 miles distant and was taking a sick woman and her husband to Eskishehr—still 70 miles away. The car had stopped through lack of petrol an hour before, and Allah was great, for not another car would pass that way for at least another week, and we could spare the much-needed spirit. So little have Turkey and the Turks changed.

After some hundreds of miles of desert travel, the prospect of reaching Eskishehr was indeed pleasing. It proved, however, to be the city of blasted hopes. Even the first glimpse of it from the top of the surrounding hills in the early afternoon sun seemed to prepare one for disappointment. Outwardly as well as inwardly it has nothing that attracts. Here again one finds the almost entire absence of vegetation and badly paved streets, though it must be admitted that something is being done to improve the latter. Nevertheless, the bazaars appear to be well stocked, and a certain amount of trade goes on. The life of the town, however, revolves round the aerodrome, which to an unpractised eye appeared—in so far as restrictions allowed it to appear—eminently suitable and well-equipped for its

purpose, and the rather pleasant public park, the latter a new creation with a band-stand, where a military band discourses music every evening, while a happy populace takes the air at the end of the day's toil.

Undoubtedly the strongest impression left on one at the close of a journey such as has been described above is that of security. The country traversed is, with the possible exception of certain of the eastern vilayets, the most sparsely populated part of Turkey, and by its very nature would be expected to beget lawlessness. In pre-war days safety could only have been secured by a considerable guard of gendarmes, while even three years ago the whole of this area was infested with brigands. Nevertheless, we were unaccompanied throughout, and could not muster even a revolver among the three of us. Nor is this security obtained thanks to strong forces of gendarmes. Rather are these conspicuous by their absence, and it was with something approaching amazement that one learnt that gendarmerie posts (all, no matter how remote, linked by telephone with the local administrative centre) were only found in the very largest villages as well as in the towns. Elsewhere over wide tracts of country order is left in the hands of the headmen of the villages, who organise their own system of bekjis (watchmen) and seem to enjoy a large measure of independence. In the unfortunate event of serious disorder the heavy arm of the law is, however, quickly felt, for the whole of the infected area is at once surrounded by the Government forces and the arrest and punishment of the offenders generally rapidly effected.

Granted the existing feeling of general security—and it cannot be questioned—one not unnaturally might assume that it is maintained thanks to an efficient system of local administration. Such, however, is not the case. The village headmen are in their limited way probably the strongest link in the chain between Angora and the peasant, and to them much of the credit must be due. There must, however, be a stronger influence, and that, I became convinced, is fear, for the prospective criminal well knows that the administrative machine, slow, cumbrous and corrupt though it is, will inevitably mete out more than adequate punishment for his crime. It is thanks to this firm control from the centre that the modern Turkey is so peaceful and secure. If and when that central control weakens, insecurity and disorder must, in my opinion, inevitably ensue, for the Valis (Lords-Lieutenant) and Kaimakams (Governors) whom I came across were, with one solitary exception, slow, equivocal, inept and utterly incompetent. The solitary exception was the Kaimakam of Akshehr, who, if anything, carried his efficiency too far. On the evening of my arrival he insisted on taking me to witness the search of Akshehr Lake. Finding on arrival at a village near the lake that his orders had not been obeyed, he ordered a certain number of the villagers to go to the lake—about 4 miles—to take up the search. It was only when we all got to the edge of the lake that he realised that darkness had fallen and that no work could be done till the morrow!

Moreover, the fear to which reference is made above does not seem to affect the higher local authorities. They doubtless are masters of the art of making excuses. There is no doubt in my mind that the orders from Angora for the search for the airmen were quite categorical. Nevertheless, at Sivri Hissar, after both the Kaimakam and the commandant of the gendarmerie had assured me that their careful enquiries had established that the aeroplane had not passed that way, I was able to obtain from a number of sources convincing evidence to the contrary within three minutes of leaving them and not further than 25 yards from the door of their joint office. On my recounting this incident to an ex-Turkish Kaimakam—now Albanian Minister at Angora—he found it quite natural, for, he said, if they had reported anything, they would have been instructed to institute an immediate search and probably—which would have been much worse—to undertake it in person! Surely adequate comment on the mentality and fear of responsibility of Turkish provincial Governors past and present.

It is pleasant to turn from the consideration of the administration to that of the common people. By the latter I mean the peasants, for they are the backbone of the country and those with whom I came in contact during my journey. In comparison with the semi-educated inhabitants of Turkish towns they are delightful and, so far as their surroundings permit, intelligent. But, unlike the townspeople, they have been little affected by the revolution. The fez has disappeared, it is true, but the baggy trousers persist. The women remain veiled and run off in any direction provided only they can get out of the way of the dreaded glance of a mere man. The mosque is still the centre of village life, and if one arrived at a village during one of the five daily prayers, the village was deserted. Outside prayer hours, such of the

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male inhabitants as were not in the fields were readily found in the mosque courtyard.

Nor has the curse of speed penetrated to these remote parts. One quickly learnt that all the old greetings (which I had believed long dead in Turkey) had to be exchanged before ordinary conversation was possible. "Salaam Alaikum" had to be answered by "Alaikum-es-salaam," "Hosh geldiniz" by "Hosh geurduk," and then "Eyi Siniz, inshallah" by the appropriate answer. When, however, unknown villagers started asking after the well-being of one's relatives the situation became rather embarrassing, more especially as fresh greetings had to be exchanged with each new arrival before the essential conversation could be resumed. However, one could not but appreciate the simplicity of these uneducated peasants, with whom Islam and the crops are the only things that matter, and it was always with something approaching regret that one commended them to God and left them with a subject of conversation for that and the following days.

ALEX. K. HELM.

Therapia, July 1, 1927.

[E 3144/173/44] No. 8.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 18.)

(No. 367.)

Sir, *Therapia, July* 12, 1927.

IN my despatch No. 303 of the 14th June I reported that there had been disturbances in both the Gregorian Armenian and the Armenian Catholic communities here. I have now the honour to inform you that in the Armenian Gregorian community things seem to be settling down. A Patriarch was elected on the 26th June to fill the See which has been vacant since the Allied forces left Constantinople. Mgr. Naroyan, the new Patriarch, has for some years been Bishop of Pera. He is an aged prelate who is reported to have done good work formerly as head of an Armenian seminary near Ismid, and, while evidently unobjectionable to the Turks, to be a worthy head of the Church.

2. In the Armenian Catholic community there is still a minority which is dissatisfied with its patriarchate. The Patriarch, Mgr. Nazlian, is at Rome, and it is stated that the Vatican has issued an act of excommunication against the dissident laity and that the Apostolic delegate is keeping it in his pocket in the hope that the knowledge of its existence may suffice to quell the storm.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 3149/17/44] No. 9.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 18.)

(No. 374.)

Sir, *Therapia, July* 13, 1927.

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs has been spending two or three days at Therapia, where he has come in order to be near the President of the Republic.

2. In the course of an interview on current questions, Tewfik Rushdi Bey, of his own accord, began to talk to me about the visit of the Afghan Minister for Foreign Affairs, which I had the honour to report to you in my despatch No. 354 of the 6th July. His Excellency said, in effect, that Afghanistan looked to Turkey for advice and a lead, and that he had strongly counselled Ala Mahmoud Tarzi Khan to follow Turkey's example and to steer a prudent middle course. Tewfik Rushdi Bey told me that, while his information was that Russian influence had had a set-back in Persia, it was very strong at the moment in Afghanistan, and his counsel to the Afghans had been consistently aimed at impressing on them the wisdom of keeping on the best terms possible with Great Britain. I have no reason to doubt the sincerity of Tewfik Rushdi's declarations, though possibly his references to the British Empire, its strength and the soundness of its policy were less eulogistic when talking with the Afghans than with me. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs wants peace, and he does not want Russia to become the dominant Eastern Power.

3. After expressing himself as, in general, highly satisfied with Afghanistan, the Minister for Foreign Affairs said he wished he could say as much of Persia. There seemed to him to be no sense of reality there, but he hoped that the Shah, whom he regarded as the one man of force and common-sense in the country, assisted by his able Minister Taimourtache, who knew conditions outside the frontiers of Persia better and with a sounder appreciation than any other Persian, would get things on to the right lines.

4. His Excellency was quite satisfied with Iraq, pleased that the question of the Turkish consul-general at Bagdad was settled, and ready to welcome an Iraqi representative in Turkey, provided that he was intelligent and prepared to work in the real spirit of the Treaty of Angora.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

No. 10.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 22.)

(No. 67.)

(Telegraphic.)

MY despatch No. 348. *Constantinople, July* 22, 1927.

Minister of Finance leaves here Sunday for Paris, and very probably London. He proposes to stay ten days in Paris, and will probably deal with coupon question, regarding which he has stated early settlement will certainly be reached.

London visit is said to be due to desire to inspect new paper money which is now ready, but real object is probably to sound London market regarding financial assistance. He may possibly endeavour to compound Turkish interest in Mosul oil, as financial situation is daily still more difficult.

[E 3236/257/44] No. 11.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 25.)

(No. 380.)

Sir, *Therapia, July* 20, 1927.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copies of reports furnished by His Majesty's consular officers at Smyrna, Trebizond, Mersina and Adrianople on the progress of the modernisation movement in the provinces of Turkey.

2. These reports agree closely in certain details, although the progress reported varies considerably between Smyrna and Trebizond owing to the very different characteristics of the populations of these districts.

3. As reported by Mr. Helm in the report of which a copy was sent to you under cover of my despatch No. 364 of the 12th July, Islam seems still to maintain a firm hold on the interior and the country-side, but is receiving serious blows to its former prestige in the larger towns and villages accessible to the sea or the railway.

4. Road-making is consistently at a discount owing to the inability of the Turk to carry to completion that to which he has set his hand, and the upkeep of roads already made is considered necessary only by the military authorities and a few isolated officials, such as the Vali of Smyrna. The Turkish Government seeks to open up communications by means of costly railways largely because of their greater strategic value in Turkish eyes, and seems to forget that good roads are still an economic necessity for the development of the country.

5. In striking agreement with one another are the reports concerning the increase of loose habits, and particularly of drinking, among the younger Turks; with their natural corollary of diminished power of working and undermined honesty. Whether these weaknesses are likely to lead in the long run to difficulty on the part of the Government in controlling the youth of the country and preventing the spread of revolutionary propaganda it is difficult as yet to predict. But the fact that the Turkish trader is to-day outstripping his former and hated predecessor, the Greek and Armenian trader, in sharp practice and double-dealing bodes ill for the progress of trade.

6. Modern Turkey is still in its early infancy. It has been carefully nursed by a skilful hand through its first few days of life, but has been given the strong wine

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of Nationalism and Modernism at a tender age. The mass of the population have probably not yet become used to these changes, and it will require many more years for the Angora Government to make of the present baby a stripling fit to withstand the onslaught of the reactionary forces of Islam.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure 1 in No. 11.

Report by Vice-Consul Watkinson, Smyrna.

THE Ghazi is said to aim at producing conditions of social and economic life similar to those in Western Europe. His personal prestige and authority have made the country accept changes in the course of a few months which the old regime would not have achieved in a hundred years.

2. The policy is one of imitation and adaptation. The reforms provided for by the Grand National Assembly are real and have been carried out with firmness, but it is probable that they are not understood by the masses of the people, and the inconveniences of more modern systems of taxation, of providing uniforms for their school-children, of adopting *soi-disant* European clothing, of general contributions to charity or national defence, and even of being made to lose one's fez in place of relatives to the local beer-garden, are undoubtedly felt by many whose geographical environment is still unchanged. The process of grafting Western ideas on surviving things of the East is a slow one. The new order cannot be entirely accepted and the old order has been discarded. And there are certain signs that it has not been put away by the devout Moslem, of whom the interior of Asia Minor is still full.

3. So far as Government encouragement is concerned, there are definite signs of material progress both in Smyrna and in the smaller towns and villages. The vilayet authorities are full of schemes for the improvement of urban and rural life.

4. There is great activity in road making, particularly in the Smyrna Vilayet, under the present Vali, whose main interests are roads and schools, to judge from his frequent tours of inspection. The basis of all organisation is the opening up of the country by proper roads. The principal scheme being carried out at present is the main road from Smyrna viâ Menemen to Pergama, which brings the products of a rich portion of Western Anatolia within easier reach of Smyrna. Every road leading out of Smyrna is being kept under repair. This is doubtless partly prompted by military considerations. Unfortunately the material used is of the cheapest. No single stretch of road in this neighbourhood has been repaired within the last few years which has not been in urgent need of attention within twelve months. It is doubtful if these roads would survive a month of modern war transport. In the Aidin district there is similar activity. In some districts camels and donkeys are being slowly replaced by Ford cars and wagons. According to a recent declaration to the press on the subject of road making, a comprehensive scheme copied from Russia is to be carried out for the building of cottages for road-menders at 5 kilom. intervals on all the main roads. Though various discussions have taken place between the authorities and representatives of foreign interests, practically the whole of the road construction and repair is given to local contractors.

5. Second in the list of officially inspired improvements is the school programme. This is dealt with more fully in notes on "Education." Religious instruction has to all interests and purposes been abolished in all schools and a modern curriculum laid down by the Government with a system of inspection. The actual building of schools is also proceeding rapidly. Night classes, both in connection with the schools and at the Turk Odaghs, are a recent innovation in Smyrna. They are not very largely attended.

6. Great progress has been made in the telephone system, largely at the instance of the military authorities. Repair gangs are supposed to be available in Smyrna to proceed to the scene of any breakdown. The Smyrna town telephone system is a disgrace to any large community. A new automatic telephone plant is now being laid down which will operate early next year. This will only cover the immediate neighbourhood of the town.

7. Housing facilities are being slowly improved. In Smyrna itself the task of clearing the ruined areas is so great that little progress has been made in actual

rebuilding. So far as private accommodation is concerned, nothing whatever has been achieved. Accommodation is probably sufficient according to prevailing standards for the present population, which is said to total about 280,000. It does not allow for any expansion and makes the suggested organisation of an international exhibition a mere farce. In the interior, on the other hand, Magnesia, Oushaq and Aidin have been largely rebuilt. The installation of immigrants from Macedonia and Thrace has been provided for in certain localities so far as housing accommodation is concerned. Unfortunately, Government assistance in land money and equipment has been very sparing, and the newcomer who develops his land with any success has all too frequently had it taken away from him so that there is said to be great discontent amongst the exchanged population.

8. With the slow reversion to normal conditions since the war, there is an increased area under cultivation. The abolition of the tithe may also have contributed to this. Modern agricultural devices would make more headway but for the general poverty in the interior. The only innovation in the agricultural domain is the establishment of the sugar-beet industry at Oushaq. It remains to be seen whether this will be a success or not.

9. In the town of Smyrna there have been many modern improvements. The president of the municipality made a survey of the past year's achievements in a recent press article. They are quoted in his own order:—

(1.) The year 1926 saw the commencement of three new buildings for the Turk Odaghs, of which Aziz Bey is the local president.

(2.) Modern slaughterhouses were begun at an expenditure of £T. 500,000. This was entrusted to a Turco-Swiss syndicate, and the buildings are now completed and in full working order.

(3.) The Swedish Ericsson Company obtained the contract mentioned above for the installation of automatic telephones in Smyrna. Cables are being placed and six engineers have been sent to Stockholm for training.

(4.) A telephone exchange for 2,000 subscribers is being fitted up.

(5.) A large park was laid out at Bahri Baba, near the centre of the native town, in which provision is made for children's amusements.

(6.) The sum of £T. 280,000 is said to have been spent on street improvements. A part of this consists of the demolition of unsafe buildings in the streets bordering on the quarantine area. Many streets were also relaid last year.

(7.) The road on the new Boulevard Gazi was said to be the main thoroughfare of the reconstructed town. It is said to be nearly all sold now, and some building has been commenced in that neighbourhood. The area which has changed hands is given as 106,000 square metres. Until building actually begins this figure has very little significance.

(8.) The total budget of the municipality for the year 1926–27 is £T. 600,000 (receipts and expenditure added together (this is hardly a modern method of computation.).

(9.) £T. 86,632 were spent on fire extinguishers and pumps. The municipality has for some months past been very interested in the testing of new types of fire extinguishing apparatus. The present fire brigade is well equipped and fairly efficient when called out.

(10.) Ambulances have been acquired for the Memleket Hospital.

(11.) A new marriage office has been opened in the Belediye buildings.

(12.) £T. 12,000 is said to have been expended on the study of a general drainage plan for the area under reconstruction. A German engineer has been working on this.

(13.) Land has been acquired for the laying out of a new cemetery outside the town, near Ishiklar. A director has been appointed and an up-to-date plan in squares on European models approved.

(14.) A statue of the Ghazi is provided for in the budget.

(15.) The stadium and football ground at Alsandjak has been reconstructed. A cycle track has been laid down, a metal stands of reinforced concrete erected and changing and washing rooms built. The sum of £T. 3,000 is to be set aside by the municipality annually for the encouragement of sports. The improvements made have been rendered possible by contributions from the funds of the vilayet and from the Near East Relief.

(16.) The municipality claims to be responsible for the commencement of a sleeping-car service between Smyrna and Angora.

(17.) The octroi duty on raisins and figs has been reduced.

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(18.) The regulations for fruit-packing houses have been strictly enforced These provide for aprons and white shirts for workers, the use of the hands in preference to the teeth in manipulation, the erection of wooden barriers and wired windows in the packing sheds, and medical examination of workers

10. Other modern improvements in the town not mentioned by the president of the municipality are the introduction of taximetres and standardisation of the tariff, the street sweeping and watering arrangements, which are said to be vastly improved since the war. A concession, also, not mentioned in this catalogue of achievements, is that of the Gheuztepe Tramway Company, for electrification of the tram system and lighting of the whole town and district The power station is now nearly completed, but the installation will not be finished until the year 1928 It is hoped that the Quay Company will be prevailed upon to change the present antiquated horse trams for electric ones, and the action of the early part of the year of the Tobacco Monopoly Company in running a competitive service of ferry boats along the quay may hasten this.

11. Mention should be made of the increasing popularity of the theatre amongst the Turkish population. A performance of Hamlet in Turkish was recently produced before a crowded audience. The most up to-date cinema films are also shown in Smyrna from time to time

12 Perhaps one of the best examples of modern tendencies in Smyrna is in the sudden realisation of the advantages of radio telephony A year ago the number of wireless sets in operation could be counted on one hand Permits could only be obtained after great expenditure and trouble and those who listened in were apparently considered suspicious persons in league with the undesirable outside world. Thus when a certain American citizen set up his apparatus in a house near to that occupied by His Majesty's consul general and fixed his aerial to the consul general's chimney, the house was under close observation for ten days in succession, and a person living in an intervening house who knew nothing whatever about it was eventually called upon to explain the nature of the wire. To-day permits are granted freely, and many Turks are in possession of radio sets. The local cafés have also taken up the new craze, and crowds gather daily to listen to the latest from Stamboul. The Turk Odaghs are similarly equipped, both in Smyrna and at one or two places in the interior.

13 In this, as in many other matters, the strong military influence which prevails in the district has served to retard progress The intense suspicion of anything new, the dread of too free communication with the outer world and the lurking fear of spies, have tended to kill initiative and to hamper attempts at reform

14. Another craze which has been taken up with enthusiasm is for the jazz and the Charleston. In the dancing gardens of Smyrna the local hairdresser rubs shoulder with the Inter-Allied Claims Delegate, and the consul general has the alternative of staying at home or sitting in close proximity to his greengrocer. This levelling influence is at work in most countries but it is a radical change so far as the Turk is concerned, though he may have but replaced the Greek and the Armenian. The real change lies not so much in the easier association of the Turks and the Europeans as in the admission of his women folk to the revels In Smyrna the shortest skirts and the most powdered faces are to be seen on the Turkish lady at these gatherings. It is only at the gaming tables that she has not yet made her appearance in public.

15. Though he has certainly made material progress in certain directions the present conditions seem to point to the Turk being at heart unchanged It changed he shows signs of being morally the worse for the present as a result of recent reforms and of being called upon to take a closer interest in the actual administration of the country. This may be merely a passing phase, a form of swelled head in the newly awakened and self-conscious citizen The present day official is given far greater opportunities of spoiling his neighbour than ever before, but under a system of control and observation, which he knows may limit those opportunities to a few months or even weeks In consequence corruption amongst officials is practised on a larger scale than was known before

16 In a less degree the same applies to the tradesman and the cultivator landowner or peasant It is the generally expressed opinion of those who come in contact with the Turk that there is no honesty in him to-day. The smallest loophole

is taken advantage of. The commercial morality of Smyrna is in no way better than it was when the trade was largely in the hands of Greeks and Armenians the Turkish trader then stood out as a relatively straighter dealer. With Turkish traders his standard seems to have deteriorated, and the partiality of the Courts towards the native makes the European need to be wary in his transactions with him

17 In personal dealings with the Turkish trader or the Turkish official it is the writer's usual experience that any sign of courtesy is construed into an indication of weakness

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Enclosure 2 in No. 11

Consul Knight to Sir G. Clerk

No. 14.)

Trebizond, June 12, 1927

Sir,

I HAVE been instructed by your Excellency's despatch No. 13 of the 30th April to furnish reports on, among other subjects, modernisation in this consular district, but it would hardly be an exaggeration to say, without entering into details, that any such process scarcely exists [illegible], however, railways are [illegible] considered modern, there are now two of the original horse tramways [illegible] space, from Sivas for a few miles to the south-west, which [illegible] Caesarea, at present the subject of so much enthusiasm in the Turkish press, passes, between the Kizil Irmak and the latter town through a part of the vast territory [illegible] under my [illegible] Motor cars [illegible] Erzerum, both at Sivas and Trebizond [illegible] have to a great extent superseded, during the summer months [illegible] more [illegible] of transport on the very few roads which permit of wheeled traffic [illegible] supplies [illegible] are in [illegible] supplies [illegible] is [illegible] as yet [illegible] most [illegible] at [illegible]

2. In my despatch No. 3 of the 12th May I had the honour to report on the almost total absence of modernisation with regard to the position of women, and in this respect Trebizond, backward though it be, is ahead of the other eastern vilayets. Here at least in the towns, the face is still hidden by the "petche" as completely as if the Ghazi had never been heard of There is, as between Turks and Europeans, or among the Turks themselves, absolutely no spontaneous social life as it is understood in Europe, and, although some desperate efforts have lately been made by various local clubs in that direction, the results have been ludicrous in the extreme. Thus the young men belonging to the club calling itself the "Star of the Future" [illegible] subscription ball some weeks ago, at which the guests were seated round the room at small tables, where the most meagre refreshments were served at exorbitant prices, and the great majority of those present remained glued to their seats throughout the evening. The bachelors, who are evidently considered dangerous in a mixed gathering, were herded into a corner by [illegible] extricating a young Turkish friend of mine and introducing him to the English guests of my party at the expense of embarrassing stares [illegible] and afterwards leaving him with jealous comment. The only Turkish ladies present were [illegible] officers or else schoolgirls, and the very few who danced belonged to the latter category. The Vali and his wife dressed in a severe black costume of sporting cut with a [illegible] and they sat at opposite ends of the room all the evening, and, when I pointedly remarked to his Excellency that I had not yet had the honour of taking his consort's acquaintance, the only answer I got was "No, madame, [illegible]"

3 A few days later (for Trebizond has been unusually gay this spring) a similar entertainment was given, with the addition of a preliminary concert, by the "sporting club" of this town I gladly consented to play, more to make myself [illegible] in the hope of encouraging a taste for classical music, but I was not on that account let off the entrance money which was considerable The proceedings began after more than an hour of unrelieved waiting, by three young men playing the "Marche de l'Indépendance," in comparison with which the most [illegible] would have seemed melodious The piano I was given [illegible] cracked instrument, hopelessly out of tune, supplied by [illegible] for the occasion and the only bright spot in an otherwise melancholy evening was an unaccompanied violin solo by my young Turkish friend

referred to above, who does in this town of 30,000 inhabitants has any artistic talent or understanding of Western music, and who is the object of much determined propaganda on the part of the Soviet consulate with a view to inducing him to study in Moscow.

4. I may be the last to deny that promising *beginnings* in the direction of beneficent modernisation (e.g., of which the marked success of doubtful utility of the imposition of hats and caps on the male population) have been made by the local authorities. It is reported that at Erzerum, which, however, no foreigner may enter, a really tolerable hotel has been evolved, under official auspices, out of a good house and garden which were pointed out to me during my visit in 1925. This must be a great improvement upon the indescribably filthy quarters which I had to occupy in what was then the best hotel in the town. Still, even a good hotel in this part of Turkey is not incompatible with swarms of bugs and the most primitive washing arrangements; is also, of course, an entire absence of baths and Western systems of sanitation. The hotels in Trebizond and Samsun, the most "modern" towns in my district, are loathsome and comfortless to the last degree, service is almost non-existent and food unobtainable on the premises. Two or three very inferior restaurants are to be found outside, but the elementary requirements of travelling Europeans and better class Turks can be met only by a "Pension suisse" in each of the two towns run by German Swiss women, who are well aware that the decencies [illegible] these parts are worth their weight in gold.

5. [illegible] Trebizond Municipality took it into its collective head last [illegible] to create a grand boulevard within the central square. Good progress was made, flower-beds laid out, grass borders planted, trees pruned, &c., but on my return two months ago I found the place had become a howling wilderness, and subsequent attempts at remedying the state of things were of course abortive as the season was much too far advanced. The same body also early last year, resolved, not to be outdone in practical patriotism by other towns, to create a grand boulevard and call it after the Ghazi, who might be induced to come and inaugurate it if ever he could be persuaded to forgive Trebizond for his frigid reception in 1924. In true Turkish fashion wholesale destruction of inhabited houses, including several of the best surviving in a town where one in three is in ruins, was carried out with the greatest alacrity, the only theatre, such as it was, being cut in two in the process. Then all the domestic refuse of the town was carted for weeks to the spot in order to create a suitable foundation for the future boulevard and mitigate the steepness and unevenness of its descent from the centre of the town to the unsavoury beach, on which, for no possible practical purpose, it should ultimately debouch. The ruined houses, the refuse and the unsavoury beach are still there, but after nearly a year and a half the Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha boulevard is as far from materialisation as ever. Indeed, the whole work seems to have been abandoned, and the citizens must find what comfort they can in the fact that the waste space thus produced is all to the good for ventilation purposes. So much for public works, but the town is without electricity (though this is promised for next year) and almost without water, for, although water exists in abundance, the pipes are spoilt, and the Turks can neither repair them nor do they even know the location of the springs, all such skill and knowledge having been the monopoly of the Greeks and Armenians, who are sorely missed, as even the Turks admit, for every practical purpose of daily life. In short, it would be safe to say that in the two thousand six hundred and eighty-third year of its history, civilisation in Trebizond has never been at so low an ebb.

6. One very noticeable aspect of modernity, as it can be called in this country at least, is the great relaxation in religious observance which has taken place in recent years. To what extent faith in Islam still maintains itself would be very difficult to determine, but it may be presumed that it is still intact among the peasants of the interior, who appear to be, apart from the [illegible] simple laborious lives of their forefathers. In the towns, however, and even in the coast villages, it is very different. After Friday prayers [illegible] Friday, which are now [illegible] the men and women separately, and drinking raki all day long to the accompaniment of strident German gramophones, in one or other of the natural beauty spots for which this coast abounds. Drunkenness is, indeed, fast becoming a national vice, and appears [illegible] only among the men as yet, and I mean [illegible] Moslem [illegible] now in greater peril than ever [illegible] which very frequently have a fatal ending.

Also, the triumphal [illegible] what may be termed reactionary [illegible] brought at this distance [illegible] with the restoration of the fez and [illegible] liberty, religious practices and practices would not [illegible] triumph for a time, yet the present official discouragement of religion with the [illegible] would probably have gone too far to permit [illegible] the [illegible].

I have, &c.
W. L. C. KNIGHT

Enclosure 3 in No. 11

Consul Chafy to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 17.)

Sir,

Mersina, May 27, 1927

THE signs of modernisation which I have observed on returning to this district after an absence of sixteen years from Turkey may be summed up under the following heads:—

2. *Dress.*—The picturesque national costumes of the very mixed peasant population are rapidly disappearing. The [illegible] shoddy [illegible] clothes and the [illegible] cap it is possible to imagine. You can [illegible] from a Yaruk, or an Osmanli from a Kurd. In their wild and romantic natural setting these people would at least look well in the costume of the Wild West, but in their present rig they are almost an offence to the landscape, which only the Cretans now brighten in the rags of the clothes they are accustomed to. Townsmen at first glance look like so many Greeks, but there is a certain tendency to affect good form and, being generally well set up and frequently now clean shaven, some smart young Turks present quite an English appearance. With the formation of sporting clubs, tennis flannels and football jerseys are now in demand, and "The Smoking" has come in with the dancing.

3. *Material Progress and Lack of Progress.*—Apart from the railway, which had not linked this district to the outside world when I was last here, motor cars, which were then unknown, and electric light, Adana and Mersina do not show many signs of material progress. They are old-fashioned Turkish country towns with narrow cobbled streets (in Adana broken and holed and most painful to walk on), little native booths and shops, cafés with smokers of narghiles, camels, ox-carts, peasants jogging about on horseback, and all the rest of it. With the coming of motors there is not so much squatting along the sides of the streets as there used to be. In Adana many of the houses are built of sun-dried mud and have flat roofs. On the outskirts of Mersina the poorer classes live in huts of reeds and mud, and in the summer time in perches in the trees. There has been scarcely any building in either town. A half-finished boulevard has been cut through a quarter of Adana, and ambitious modern blocks of offices and shops begun and left unfinished. The Mayor of Mersina is making raised pavements along the sea front, which protect the feet from the mud in winter and the dust in summer. He is also talking of asphalt and the usual fancy scheme to [illegible] a modern hotel, casino, theatre, &c. There are private electric lighting plants in Adana. Latterly Mersina is lit by a public plant. If the to [illegible] current was only [illegible] during the night time, but as from the first of next month it will be available during the day with the most welcome hour of extra light. There are no public telephones in either town. The first radio set has just been established over the Mersina Chamber of Commerce and Bourse building. Apart from the street sewer, Mersina and Tarsus, the roads are almost as bad as before, starting gravely out of each town, but leaving a long intervening hiatus with *dere* [illegible] through which the Fords have to jump the ditches and the [illegible] in parts [illegible]. Motoring between towns is only possible in summer. Mersina has a fine [illegible] with [illegible] engines. With the exception of the New Hotel at Adana, kindly run by an enterprising Albanian which has single-bedded rooms, quite decent furniture, electric light and fans and a European bath-room (but not lavatory), the hotels in these country towns are about on a par with Greek provincial "locandas," and foreigners only endure them of dire necessity. To be "modern" a pianist is employed to hammer out bygone fox-trots during meals in the public dining room. The only modern shop in Adana, Orosdi-Backs, has lately been burnt down. Its branch in Mersina is being closed in

consequence. There is one quite enterprising Turkish shop here which stocks a variety of lines, but the majority of articles of common necessity to a European are simply not obtainable in either town. With the removal of the Greeks and Armenians hardly any skilled labour is available here. One Turkish, Dutch firm has lately begun to turn out furniture with the aid of a cabinet-maker trained in Vienna, and I employed a wandering German in fitting up my house, but the average native carpenter is about as skilful as an English schoolboy. There is only one individual in the place who can doctor a typewriter or a gramophone, and that in a clumsy fashion. Plumbers simply do not exist, and I could find no one with the most rudimentary notions of fitting up a bathroom but an Italian stone-mason. The electric light plant, which constantly plunges the town into darkness at awkward moments, is kept going by a Hungarian. There is no decent barber in Mersina, and men's and women's hair is cut alike, as by the village blacksmith. The ladies of Adana have discovered a Cretan with more attempts at art. Adana and Mersina each have a cinema. Owing to the lack of local talent the pictures are not accompanied by music of any sort. Adana indulges in a low-down cabaret, but apart from dancing, there are no other public entertainments, not even a Punch and Judy show.

4. *Sports and Pastimes.*—The Turks down here are being encouraged by the Government to take to European sports and games. Sporting clubs have been formed at both Adana and Mersina, and football and tennis are played. The Mersina club has just acquired a rowing-boat. There is talk of cricket. Gymnastic apparatus is being erected on sports grounds. It is also amusing to watch the boom in bicycles, which all the lads and lasses are now learning to ride. Motor bicycles are also popular. Pillion riding is carried to the most perilous lengths imaginable. I have mentioned the popularisation of dancing in my report on the position of women. As for horse racing, Adana, Tarsus and Mersina have long had their regular meetings, very much on the Irish model. This region is the home of Circassians and is essentially horsy. The men ride for pleasure as well as locomotion, and play the old Turkish game of Djerrid every Friday afternoon in the autumn and winter. Horse racing needs little encouragement down here, though it can doubtless be "modernised" and its vicious elements introduced if the Ghazi so decrees, to the great loss of the real sport in its best and most natural form which it at present affords.

5. *Manners and Morals.*—I have said in my report on women that the harem is a thing of the past, and that Turkish men and women are beginning to meet socially in their new houses. I dare say that ordinary Turkish gatherings are tame enough and confined to sittings round the best parlour or hall-dining-room-sitting-room in the style of provincial Greeks, sippings of coffee or raki, eatings of cakes and sweets, and strummings on primitive string instruments of music. Unlike the Greeks, the provincial Turks would certainly not dare to talk politics, and one supposes that the conversation is confined to cotton and crops and taxes. Whenever I have been at parties among the Turkish upper classes or officials the proceedings have been distinctly Pickwickian, with aids to revelry modernised in the form of cocktails and gramophones. The word "cocktail" has come to stay in the Turkish language. It covers diverse liquors (among which good old English gin ranks respectably high) mixed in an inappropriate manner and consumed at inappropriate times and in inappropriate amounts. The gramophone goes with the cocktail as sugar with coffee. Some Turkish families proudly display a piano (traced in vain by distracted reparation claims investigators), but having regard to the slow progress made by the local school of piano tuners or players, this instrument is put to bed again with the baby early in the evening. The "Charleston" is the most popular dance in Turkish towns. It does not in the least matter whether the Hungarian professional has taught it you or not. The more grotesque your contortions and the wilder your kickings the finnier it is. Were it not out of place in an official report, I could write cantos on the Caperings of a Customs Collector, and volumes on the Vim of Vulis in essaying this peculiar dance. Turkish parties are apt to last till very late, and it is refreshing to find that the essentially English beverage known as Eno's has also found a niche in the Turkish language and in every grocer's shop, and is used by all wise Turks as the natural corollary to the cocktail. With the sudden removal of essential Moslem restrictions and the teaching of republican ideas the younger generation of Turks are bound to be somewhat thrown off their balance. My French colleague at Adana, who sometimes gets stones thrown at him on his walks abroad, and is naturally inclined to pessimism, takes a gloomy view

and thinks that the little Turk will soon be not only a regular little Turk but a regular little Bolshevik. I have not yet been molested, but though generally treated with politeness and respect, I agree that it is not so easy as before to keep the young Turk in his place. I have had more than one occasion to reprimand a cheeky youth of the chauffeur class (one of whom was downright rude to some guests of mine and subsequently had a scandalous adventure with the Mufti's daughter) and have now had to dismiss my second cavass for stealing my pigeons, a mean offence which a retainer of the old school would sooner have died than commit. These young fellows do not go to the mosque. Shopkeeping would, of course, likely to improve the Turks' morals. Here, at least, they are taking too readily to the petty tricks of the dispossessed Greek and Armenian traders without learning much about the main essence of the business. A sinister feature, directly or indirectly due to the Angora regime, is the presence in the principal café of every small town of "Filles de Cabaret" of a vague nationality. These strumpets are in addition to the inmates of the public brothels. Whatever laxity of morals follows from all these things will probably be held longer in check here than elsewhere by the older generation. The bulk of the people are strict Moslems, who go regularly to the mosque, keep Ramazan and say their prayers in field and factory and shop. Little effect is yet observable on the patriarchal manners and customs of the country population.

I have, &c.

R. E. W. CHAFY.

Enclosure 4 in No. 11

Report by Consular Officer, Adrianople.

AN attempt is being made to create a public park modelled in a humble way on those at Constantinople. A tennis court is being made, and there is to be music, dancing and bathing. The site chosen in the woods beside the Maritza River, though beautiful in itself, is unfortunately infested with mosquitoes of an extremely ferocious kind, and it seems likely that the success of the enterprise will depend largely upon the result of the efforts now being made to do away with them. A squad of prisoners is generally to be seen working in the park.

2. Another phenomenon, minute in itself but quite as significant historically as brummel headgear, is the installation of a striking arrangement in the town clock, and the sound of the bell, formerly so hated by true Moslems, is now heard all over the town.

Adrianople, May 25, 1927.

E 3234/257/44] No. 12.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 25.)

(No. 384.)

Sir,

Therapia, July 20, 1927.

IN continuation of my despatch No. 380 of to-day's date, I have the honour to transmit herewith further reports from His Majesty's consular officers in Turkey on the position of women in their respective districts since the introduction of Mustafa Kemal Pasha's programme of modernisation.

2. In general the results seem to be such as might be expected when a Moslem country is swung from the extreme repression of women laid down by Islamic law to the freedom of 20th-century Europe. Still, it is worthy of note that the rulers of modern Turkey have had the wisdom or prudence to allow a considerable measure of liberty to those elements which contrive to think the veil and other customs of Islam a necessity. Doubtless they trust to the schools to inculcate in the new generation ideas that will bring in the projected reforms automatically.

3. The report from Trebizond in particular shows that, if such is their reasoning, their plans appear to be meeting with success.

4. It is, however, to be hoped, for Turkey's sake, that "progress" will not connote smaller families. Turkey needs above everything an increasing population.

and short skirts and degrees of law and medicine will not replace the habits of large families and hard work which, as these reports show, still prevail in the country districts and small villages in the interior.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure 1 in No. 12.

Consul Knight to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 3.)

Trebizond, May 12, 1927.

Sir,

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch No. 13 of the 30th April received on the 4th instant, I have the honour to report as follows on the present position of women in my consular district, this being the subject among those mentioned in the despatch under reference which, in most cases, is unavailing least of all of further study and observation.

2. It will be remembered that during the past winter the Vali, on behalf of the Commander-in-Chief, issued an order ordering the women to unveil within a few days, on threatening unfavourable and drastic measures with severity, including varying terms of imprisonment.

3. Trebizond has the reputation of being one of the most strict of Turkish towns in matters of this sort, and is somewhat easy-going about it; in spite of the opportunities offered in recent years it has not signally distinguished itself by its zeal. Thus while at Erzerum and Rizeh it was known that the ladies were hanging even in doubt as to the wearing of the veil, Trebizond accepted the new headgear with alacrity on the approach of the official mandate.

4. It was always intimated, however, that the devout female sex would prove a tougher little problem, although were the attack upon them to assume the legal form, and adopt the extraordinary methods so effective in the case of the male, it would be surprising if the Vali's wisdom did not put a better show of resistance. At a venture, I should say that the Vali's wisdom did not put a better show of resistance. At all events, the change, presented in the present instance with a mere rhetorical decree, lacking the force of law, they and the French look devise, in a manner which from their point of view, avoided a complete success. The "yashmak" or short black veil which fell over the face was duly discarded, while the "charshaf" or veil being a veil in the sense of the decree, was retained in all its amplitude and serves to protect the features to the exact extent desired by the wearer. Modesty being as much a distinguishing mark of the Trebizond women as jealousy is of their husbands, the situation is, to all intents and purposes, remain as the same as before the promulgation of the edict, and with this state of affairs the local authorities have to be satisfied at least for the present.

5. The few female faces to be seen in the streets are, with very rare exceptions, those of either servants or mistresses or schoolgirls, who, having been the objects of special legislation, are of course in a category apart. The latter, growing up without the traditional restrictions of dress or manners, will doubtless never adopt these, or their mothers, except possibly in the case of a very few old fashioned families where the tradition of filial piety is still strong. I know of one such family where the majority of the girls had already passed school age and where the remainder will probably retire to live into the veiled seclusion of their mother and elder sisters. But such cases must remain quite exceptional, so that granting the permanence of the present regime, there can be little doubt that this side of its policy will result in a new generation of emancipated women, whether for good or ill, of the country, or otherwise, remains to be seen. It is difficult to conceive how, with both, from a health standpoint, the opposite influences have met with, but, at any rate, the majority of these fresh and attractive young creatures can be prevented from turning into the appalling specimens of painted and tottering dames who have seen to adorn themselves even in the streets of Trebizond. It is perhaps inevitable that among the rising generation one extreme should follow the other, but surely a Government which is alleged to have a special care for the production of the race must, even in its own interests, see that some local restraint is put on the tendency to carry it to such lesser extent in the marketplaces of Constantinople and Angora, and of Europe, to the extent in the world's centre of the East in the world's centre which motherhood of any sort and has positive and qualitative attributes should be expected.

6. It will have been gathered from what has been already said that the public life of this town and district women so far take practically no part. None exercise any profession or trading except the school mistresses. A few are drudges in the women's wards of hospitals in the rare towns where such institutions exist. None are to my knowledge employed in any office or administration with the exception of the post office, which, in Trebizond, has two women clerks said to be of local extraction. Although the servant problem is most acute, it is almost impossible to obtain the services of a Turkish woman or girl, and such as are procurable are the first word in slovenliness and inefficiency. Nor do they seem capable of improvement by training, and the energy required for the effective scrubbing of a floor is more than they can or will command.

7. On the other hand, an Englishman who is actively interested in mining in this district assures me that the peasant women, who he employs to shovel the mixed earth and ore and carry it from the mine to the washing point, work steadily and well. Women too are everywhere the backbone of the country district, tilling laboriously the soil and are especially skilled in the delicate processes of tobacco growing and picking, and curing the leaf. In the Régie cigarette factory at Samsun I have seen women and more particularly very young girls work with an industry and dexterity which the managing director contrasted with the men to their shame. It would appear to be clear that the women of the peasant class, as will be the last to be influenced by new ideas or movements, are instinctively the best friends of their own contentment and therefore of peace to the community, and it is to be feared, however, that in the exhibitions such as have taken place, they will be more than these will deem it the only fitting graph 5 above.

8. Social life in the towns is, of course, confined to the small European and levantine communities, which hardly exist in this district except in the cities of Trebizond, Samsun and Kirasunda, are the sea ports where the foreign element is of a very strong character. The people belong to any appreciable degree and influence, but, of course, it has made itself felt in the local Turkish society. The latter are not consulted to much. Men and women, when they call, they see each other at the house. They have a deal of etiquette. The Vali's wife has not yet returned my wife's visit, and nearly two years ago. Even the cinema is not known as they will not be present with the men, and the Friday afternoon performances reserved for women and children were abandoned more than a year ago as being a concession incompatible with the enlightened times. The light generally by the flat of modern Turkey structure is covertly of European and Turkish forms and constructed in the comfortable light of day.

I have, &c.
W. I. C. KNIGHT.

Enclosure 2 in No. 12.

Consul Chitty to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 15.)

Mersina, May 21, 1927.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report as follows on the position of women in this part of Turkey.

2. My district is old fashioned and Oriental, but the emancipation of women under the new regime is proceeding steadily and I do not think that anything will now check it. The new type of woman now so familiar in Constantinople, turbanned or hatted and dressed in the modes of Paris, most of whom set a distinctly rapid pace in making her appearance in Adana and Mersina in the shape of wives and daughters of imported officials or manufacturers and ladies who have been abroad. Officials on the spot are also distinctly modernised, their womenfolk. Having recently seen some instructive work in Anatolia, I invited my local authorities to a party and made them play musical chairs and other children's games. They all made fools of themselves, but it was all in a high and good spirit, and the only flaw in the proceedings was the idea of the ladies, who I had not dared to invite. The chief of police promptly gave a return entertainment "English games" and all hands with under the table of a more expensive Armenian nightclub acted as hostess in a tasteful but pleasure-loving and pleasant agreeable restaurant called the "Ood."

3. Turkish ladies in the provinces are being deliberately taught to dance. When I first came here a year ago Mersina was not in its first flush of fall and the

then Vali was much annoyed that the Khanums at that time would not would not dance and told me that his own daughter was in the next occasion to be the first to take the floor. Since then more and more Khanums are beginning to dance in Adana and Mersina. A Hungarian dancing professional who spends his time teaching in the two towns told a friend of mine that he was positively worn out with his openings in Turkish houses. The first public dance was given the other day in the ostensibly well-to-do quarter of Selefke. The Hungarian jazz band from Mersina was backed for the occasion out in the end the company had to be content with a gramophone as no such thing as a piano could be hire in Selefke. On this occasion the Khanums were duly escorted to their first appearance with roof-tops and perspectives which they said garlanded between dances not returning to which way does anybody of the gentlemen's attention.

4. Girls are now [illegible] by themselves a thing unheard of before. The [illegible] part of the public [illegible] is still reserved for the European and old fashioned [illegible] with their husbands. The sexes are also beginning to [illegible] other houses and the Harem would seem definitely to be [illegible] the [illegible]. A very [illegible] Turkish girls [illegible] the [illegible] I understand that the Ghazis [illegible] people [illegible] their parts. But the [illegible] Turkish [illegible] will apply [illegible].

5. Little Turkish girls now go to school. Each child is being birth [illegible]. The [illegible] and [illegible] very much [illegible] elsewhere [illegible] Young Turkish girls [illegible] Many [illegible] in business offices. They are [illegible] the [illegible] in the streets in the new [illegible] Redif [illegible] Mosque [illegible] employed as secretaries in [illegible] houses but [illegible] factories. A very modern type of girl looks [illegible] from [illegible] Constantinople. A great [illegible] sons [illegible] and [illegible]. Turkish stockings are now [illegible] Mersina and Turkish girl walking [illegible].

6. In contrast [illegible] women [illegible]. They [illegible] work with the [illegible] fields [illegible] the [illegible] in the [illegible]. In [illegible] and trades the women wear the [illegible] Turkish [illegible]. They soon [illegible] their own and their [illegible] coats of many colours. The only [illegible] which [illegible] country women of Cilicia is through the [illegible] which have been founded within a certain [illegible] of the town and where new ideas will doubtless be taught to the rising generation of wives and mothers. In the [illegible] women and children work in gangs under an overseer. They are now working from sunrise to sunset. There is some [illegible] shade from the scorching sun but that thrown by an occasional and tree or the ox wagon which brings their midday [illegible] food from the farm (though the overseer wears a common black [illegible]). This seeing and gathering in cotton fields (nuggets' or cotton's work elsewhere) and are wonders of Southern Indians [illegible] stand it. The women who walk with the camels are also of a prodigiously robust physique. The general position of country women in these parts is essentially primitive and champions of women's rights might observe that they do a full man's work as well as a full woman's work with brief pauses for gestation. They seem to flourish on it very well.

7. Some well [illegible] in the mountain corners who have an interest in the welfare of several villages keep several wives as it were to every village a stewardess (let us say the owner of a shiny stewardess or [illegible]). Each wife looks after the [illegible] in her village during his absence in another. Owing to the lack of [illegible] and [illegible] that the husband goes away on the [illegible] night and his wives are [illegible] delivered from inharmonious [illegible]. [illegible] must [illegible] with the [illegible] of education and means of [illegible] and comfort. A German [illegible] with forty [illegible] of this district [illegible] very [illegible] [illegible].

I have &c.

R. F. W. CHARY

Enclosure 3 in No. 12

Report from Consular Officer, Adrianople

I AM under the impression that women here are coming to the fore slowly but surely. One does not often see a veiled one now, while the Jewesses of the town (of whom there are many) are always there to set at least a departure if not a European standard of dress and behaviour. As I have before reported, dancing is very popular but the old harem spirit is not quite dead, and social intercourse does not seem to get much beyond formal dancing in large open rooms. With very few exceptions, the provincial ladies are still heavy and handicapped by a lack of education and languages. Their visits are, I know, a terror to my French colleague's socialite and amusing wife. But still when all is said, there is no doubt that the general position of women has improved immensely under the present regime and it seems to be only a question of time until they can use it to full advantage of it.

2. In the smaller towns things have naturally gone more slowly, and Mrs. Boggetti of Kestel told me that it was only the other day that the local ladies started to pay calls when they came to visit her all together and sat a most inconsiderable time without saying anything.

Adrianople, May 25, 1927.

Enclosure 4 in No. 12

Report by Mr. Helm

THE most complete of all the changes which have been decided upon by the Republican Government of Turkey is not upon that of women. The emancipation of women by Government decree has taken the population of Turkey by surprise. To the older people it is evident that the attempt to change their status comes as a shock. It is no easy matter to destroy the tradition of centuries, and certain of the population show a strong disinclination to fall in with modern views. This is shown in the poorer quarters of Smyrna in such residential suburbs as Bornova and Bornabat, and even more in the villages of the interior, where women still cover their faces at sight of a European and withdraw rapidly to their houses if they are surprised on their doorstep. There are also many instances known of individual Turks who have refused to allow their women folk to conform to the requirements of the authorities, even to the extent of shooting the police who have been to enforce those regulations.

2. The better classes are less conservative. The younger generation, in particular, seems prepared to avail itself of the changed conditions, as is evidenced by the zeal with which the young Turkish girl, when allowed to do so, throws herself into amusements and the ultra modernity in some cases of her skirts and general appearance.

3. It has always been the custom in this district for women of the peasant classes to work as labourers in the fields and as factory workers, carpet makers, embroiderers and knitters. A few Turkish women are now also to be seen in public offices and as cashiers in shops, as bank employees, telephone operators and post office sorters. There are Turkish dressmakers in Smyrna who compete successfully with their foreign rivals. But in general they are not equipped with sufficient education for anything other than manual work, and in Smyrna they cannot compete with the Jewess.

4. The most important step towards the emancipation of the women lies in developing their educational attainments. Formerly the educated Turkish woman was acquainted with arithmetic and reading. A very few knew French or some other foreign language, though in Smyrna it is very rare to find any with more than a mere smattering. There was no question of any Turkish woman other than some isolated exception adopting a profession or interesting herself in men's spheres of life. Now it is possible for them to be specialists in mathematics and chemistry and to be doctors, lawyers and chemists.

5. The Smyrna Vilayet has sent a certain Malahet Hanum to Constantinople University to study chemistry. Apart from this, there is a training establishment for teachers at Cordelio which is said to be well staffed. Most of the primary schools

are now mixed. With better education there is no reason why Turkish women should not follow the same lines of evolution as in other countries.

6. There is no women's branch of Y.M.C.A. organisation in Smyrna. Certain of the more enlightened ladies of Cordelio, some of whom are connected with the family of the President of the Council, and a small set at Cheuztépe, amongst whom are the wife and sister-in-law of the late Vali of Smyrna, are interested in the Society for the Defence of Women's Rights. They take a prominent part in the work of the Anti-Tuberculosis League and of the Child Protection Society. Under their auspices lectures are given in schools on modern hygienic principles. Party politics do not appear to interest them greatly.

7. Women now travel about freely with their husbands and appear everywhere with them in public. But it is unusual for a Turk to permit his wife to go out very frequently alone except to the bazaars. There is no longer any separation of the men and the women in tramcars or trains, though on a railway journey there is a tendency for the men to gather together for discussion, leaving the women-folk and children to their own devices.

8. The veil has now practically disappeared in Smyrna, though it is still seen on some of the older women. At Aidin, on the other hand, a large number of the women were veiled last Bairam and the authorities decided not to interfere. It appears that there had been considerable traffic in undesirable women in certain cabarets and clubs of Aidin, and the more conservative portion of the population objected to the scenes which took place there. At Sokia, on the other hand, the large garden belonging to the resident manager for the Macandrews and Forbes Company was recently lent for a garden party for charitable purposes. The whole population of Sokia attended and none of the women were veiled. Somewhat to the surprise of their host, there was not a single case of drunkenness.

9. Modern European headgear is as yet practically unknown to the Turkish women of Smyrna. As a general rule the Turkish costume is little changed except for the omission of the veil. It appears to go against the grain for the Turkish woman to do away with the symbol of the distinction between Moslem and the non-Moslem.

10. There is a certain amount of entertainment by Turkish ladies in their homes. Tea parties and dancing are by no means unknown, but the circle of those who visit such houses is restricted and very few Turkish ladies visit European houses.

11. In family life there is said to be a general change. The selamlik and haremlik have disappeared. Husband and wife pass their time together as Europeans do, and the woman's position in the home is not any more that of the inferior than is the case, say, in Germany. The morality of the Turkish woman is said to be high, and her newly found liberty does not seem to have produced any such results as did the emancipation and sudden enrichment of large numbers of young girls in England during the war. Whether this is due to Moslem principles or to repression by the other sex it would be difficult to say.

12. Though the seeds have been sown which may later bring forth a radical change in the position of the Turkish women, their complete emancipation is a thing of the future dependent on their better education. If the present views of the Government are maintained, and there is no reversal to the more conservative view, there is no doubt that in a few years this change may be effected. As yet it is idle to look on it as more than a movement in the desired direction, except in the case of a very few who may have been ripe for such a change.

Smyrna, June 28, 1927.

No. 1[illegible].

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July [illegible])

(No. 65. Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, July [illegible], 1927.*

(Telegram No. 6[illegible])

Minister of Finance left two days ago. His stay in Paris will be short. After London he will visit Sweden in connection with railway contracts, but I am informed that, besides London visit, his other main object is to deal with proposals, made by Amsterdam intermediary of American syndicate, for loan, secured chiefly on salt monopoly, of 40 million dollars at 7½ per cent., issue price being 80. Business has apparently been practically completed by Ish Bank, of which the president is the

chief shareholder, on basis of 2½ per cent. commission. Minister, having been left out of the deal, has found terms excessive and will endeavour to secure modification.

Truth is that Turkey must have money very soon. If it cannot be got from Paris or London other possibilities must be explored.

Minister has carefully avoided contact with this Embassy before leaving, and has generally shrouded his intentions in mystery.

E 3286/1672/44] No. 14.

Treasury to Foreign Office. (Received July 26.)

Sir,

Treasury, July 26, 1927.

I HAVE had before the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury Mr. Oliphant's letter of the 20th instant enclosing copy of a despatch from His Majesty's Ambassador at Turkey relative to the economic situation in Turkey.

In reply I am to request you to inform Secretary Sir Austen Chamberlain that my Lords are very doubtful whether any direct connection exists between such advances as may have been made by British financial interest to German banks or to German industry and the actual contracts which are reported to have been undertaken by German firms in Turkey.

They do not think there is more in Tewfik Rushdi Bey's remarks than the obvious truth that the recovery of Germany, to which undoubtedly British market credits have contributed, may have enabled the German market to make commercial advances, *e.g.*, through the Deutsch-Orient Bank, to Turkish enterprises.

While their Lordships have no information of a precise character as to such borrowings, they have no doubt that if any advances were given to German firms interested in Turkey—and it is most improbable that any considerable such advances exist—they would be fully secured and thus would not involve the transfer to the British market of the risks involved in Turkish enterprises.

A copy of this letter has been sent to the Board of Trade.

I am, &c.

O. E. NIEMEYER.

E 3350/257/44] No. 15.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 2.)

(No. 304.)

Sir,

Therapia, July 27, 1927.

IN continuation to my despatch No. 380 of the 20th July, I have the honour to transmit herewith copies of reports by His Majesty's consuls in Smyrna, Mersina, Trebizond and Adrianople on the progress of education in their districts.

2. These consular officers state in general that the destruction of such teaching as in old time Turkey centred round the mosque and the laicisation of education which withdrew from foreign missionary societies the right to give instruction left in Turkey a void which had immediately to be filled. The removal from the country of the educated Greeks and Armenians and the consequent employment, not only in commerce but also in local administration, of Turks have made this void only more vast and more calamitous.

3. Considerable sums of money have therefore been allotted to the construction of schools. But the erection of a building—and this in itself is a slow process—does not suffice for the education of the youth of a country, and Turkey possesses practically no facilities for the training of instructors. A large proportion of the educated Turks of to-day, who were not brought up abroad, owe their training to such foreign institutions as the American Robert College, the British High School and the numerous French, Italian and American missionary schools which existed before the war.

4. It is to be regretted then that an appreciation of the importance of education in a modern State which has caused the Turkish Government to devote considerable thought and expenditure to the question of primary education, should not have stayed

the hand of those more violently nationalistic enthusiasts who wished to sweep away all European institutions before any Turkish establishments came into existence to replace them.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

Enclosure 1 in No. 15

Memorandum by Consular Officer at Smyrna.

THE principal item in the budget of the Smyrna vilayet is public instruction. In 1926 a five year programme of primary education was laid down. According to published figures, the 1927 budget included £T. 790,000 for this purpose. The present Governor General of Smyrna and his colleague at Aidin are both keenly interested in the furtherance of education amongst the people.

2. If the town of Smyrna be excepted, the great majority of the population of the vilayets of Western Asia Minor are unable to read or write. The Cretan still speaks Greek, and the new population from Macedonia and Thrace is only just beginning to learn Turkish, though in other respects of a higher order of intelligence than the average local peasant.

3. Theoretically primary schools are supposed to have everywhere replaced the old village schools formerly attached to mosques and now done away with. As yet village schools of one or two classes are only being built in certain districts on models laid down by the vilayet. Teachers are in the meantime being steadily trained, though it is the opinion of certain educational authorities already established here that the wrong type of man is taken, and in consequence the standard of intelligence is not very high. Many hodjas have been sent to the university at Constantinople for training as teachers.

4. There are no schools in this district outside Smyrna other than primary schools. According to information from Aidin, considerable interest is being shown in education in that neighbourhood, though compulsory attendance is not strictly enforced.

5. The principal Turkish schools in Smyrna are:

(1.) The Commercial School, near the Konak, the former director of which was interned. This has about 150 day scholars and fifty boarders and a staff of fourteen, including a doctor.

(2.) The Normal School for boys at Bahri Baba. This has 350 boarders and about fifty day boys, and a staff of sixteen persons, together with a medical adviser.

(3.) Normal School for girls at Karshiyaka (Cordelio). Most of the pupils are boarders, numbering nearly 300. There are fifteen teachers.

(4.) A Secondary School for boys with 250 day scholars and 150 boarders. There are from twelve to fifteen teachers.

(5.) Girls' Secondary School with 300 day scholars and a few boarders. There are said to be twenty teachers attached to this school.

(6.) Industrial School at Quarantina. This has 200 boarders and ten day pupils and there are said to be fifty teachers and demonstrators visiting the establishment regularly.

(7.) Agricultural School at Bournabat, which is largely horticultural. A veterinary section has just been opened.

6. In addition to these there are over fifty primary schools, at which the average attendance is 200. Each school has a director, who is also an instructor, and one teacher for fifty children.

7. All teachers must be Government-trained and certificated and progress is being made in the standard of instruction. The general standard is still below that of the teaching staff at most of the foreign schools established in Smyrna. A regular programme of instruction is laid down by Angora.

8. Oral examinations prevail in the secondary schools, held by inspectors from other schools or from outside districts. The curriculum includes history and geography, Turkish and Arabic grammar, mathematics and science, drawing, book keeping, the French language and literature, and gymnastics.

9. The educational authorities of the vilayet have done much to encourage football and inter-school gymnastic competitions.

10. An educational specialist, of Belgian nationality, M. Omer Buyse, recently visited Smyrna on a tour of inspection from Angora. He has urged upon the authorities the necessity for trained technical experts and specialists. He states that he is of the opinion that enough native talent exists in the country amongst small artisans, who must be trained in technical and professional schools for road and railway engineering, mechanical and electrical engineering and the decorative arts. For the present there is no provision in Smyrna for any of these things. The resources of the one industrial school are very limited and cannot be improved without funds.

11. M. Buyse also advocates the foundation of a school of chemical industries to train experts in oil, soap and tanning materials.

12. Foreign schools are recognised by the Turkish authorities if they existed before the 30th October, 1914, but subject to the same laws as Turkish institutions. For the present, in most cases, the minimum of regulations is enforced. There was a proposed law by which students under 15 must attend Turkish schools, but for the most part Turkish children can attend foreign schools where classes in geography and history must be given by Turkish instructors. The Turkish language must be taught to every student and the hours of instruction are fixed by the Turkish Government.

13. The most important foreign educational establishment in Smyrna is the International College at Kizil Choullou (Paradise). This college has a staff of twenty-eight, of whom nine are Turkish, five being appointed by the Government. There is also a resident doctor. The number of boarders for the year 1926-27 was 170 and 99 day boys. Of these 249 are Moslems, 12 Jews and 8 Christians. This school is supposed to be more free from political influences than the French and Italian institutions run by religious fraternities. The principal of the college states that there is no missionary motive in the work now, but that a high standard of morality and of scholarship is aimed at. Most of the instruction takes place there in the English language. There is also an American girls' college at Gueuztépé, with a staff of four or five American teachers.

14. The following other foreign schools are still carrying on in Smyrna and district:—

Ecole des Freres chretiens (French): Smyrna, 236 boys
Ecole des Freres chretiens (French): Cordelio, 110 boys
Ecole silesienne (Italian): Smyrna, 139 boys
Sœurs d'Ivrea (Italian): Smyrna (2), 285 girls
Sœurs d'Ivrea (Italian): Gueuztépé, 176 girls
Sœurs d'Ivrea (Italian): Bairakli, 56 girls
Dames de Sion (French): Cordelio, 200 girls.
Hôpital Français: Smyrna, 145 girls
Sœurs St. Vincent (French): Bournabat, 78 girls
Sœurs St. Vincent (French): Boudja, 87 girls.
Sœurs St. Joseph (French): Ala Bey, 75 girls
Orphanage of Sœurs St. Vincent (French): Koula, 67 infants (mixed)

These schools are all under Roman Catholic control and have Government subventions. They give a modern European education, especially in languages. They can no longer be said to be superior in management or equipment to the secondary schools now in Smyrna. Owing to the economical and political propaganda believed to have been carried on in some of them they have incurred the enmity of the Government. Though still allowed to carry on their work, some of these institutions meet with frequent vexations and interference. No exposure of religious objects is permitted, and Turks are not allowed to share in any religious exercises.

15. The Greek and Armenian schools have all entirely disappeared. There are still a few Jewish schools subject to the same regulations as are foreign establishments.

Enclosure 2 in No. 1

Consul Chafy to Sir G. Clerk

No. 19.)

Mersina, June 21, 1927

SIR,

I REGRET that I can only contribute rough notes on education in Turkey. It would have interested me very much to make a detailed enquiry into it at first hand, but I have thought it better to abstain in view of the pervading atmosphere of silly suspicion on the part of the authorities, to which I have often referred.

Number and Nature of Schools.

2. There are about forty schools in the three towns of Adana, Tarsus and Mersina. These include a Lycée, an agricultural, a commercial and two teachers' training schools at Adana, one secondary and one kindergarten school in each town and an American girls' school at Adana and an American boys' school at Tarsus, each divided into an elementary and a secondary section. Except that English is taught in them, these American schools are now, to all intents and purposes, Turkish institutions, having to include Turkish teachers and the full Turkish curriculum. The remainder of the schools are elementary. The total number of pupils attending them, the majority of whom are boys, is about 5,000. The combined population of the three towns must be at least 120,000, and the present number of schools is insufficient and many children are still debarred from the benefits of learning. Efforts are, however, being made to provide more schools.

Nature and Nationality of Pupils.

3. The pupils attending these schools, which are [illegible] all social classes. Only a few of the local notables send their children to be educated in Syria, Constantinople or abroad. The pupils are Turks, or, rather, children of the medley of Moslem racial elements which inhabit this region, of which a large proportion is of Syrian origin. These Syrian Moslems now all call themselves Turks and prudently keep their native Arabic for home use. They are more intelligent than the rest. A new element, which will certainly make its intellectual mark, has now been added in the shape of Moslem immigrants of Greek origin from Cyprus and from Crete and parts of Northern Greece. I have noticed that Cypriots educated in Cyprus are beginning to be employed as teachers. The native Catholic Maronite and Orthodox Christians do not let their children attend the Turkish schools, but now that all French Mission schools, in which nearly all of them were educated, have been closed, send them, if they can afford it, to school in Syria or abroad. Turkish school children here, both boys and girls, make a good impression on casual observers. They are decently dressed and well-behaved.

Character of Teachers.

4. The quality of the majority of teachers is evidently very poor, and they are said to include worthless individuals accused of drink and other vices. But real efforts are being made to supply a new and superior class. Teachers must now, at least, have received a proper education themselves and be acquainted with the subjects they are set to teach. They now also have to qualify for their posts by examination, which is being more and more strictly applied. At present there are not enough qualified teachers. Some of the new order are said to be really keen and competent. But the best results are not likely to be obtained so long as their salaries, as is at present too often the case, are kept in arrear for lack of funds.

Curriculum.

5. Children in the elementary schools are taught to read and write Turkish, spelling, dictation, grammar and composition, arithmetic and geometry, Turkish history, geography, singing, music and natural history. The arithmetic and geometry are said to be very poor and to be badly and insufficiently taught. I gather from critics that it would be better to cut out the geometry and at least teach the

children to do simple sums. The history which the little Turk is taught starts, I believe, from the driving of the English into the sea or some such triumphant period, and combined with the geography is hardly calculated to confine his young imagination within due bounds or himself to his proper place. An excellent series of roller maps formerly employed in the American college at Tarsus can now only be used on the sly and the works of local cartographers are preferred. Music and singing are of a somewhat martial character. The little Turk is taught to play the instruments of his ancestors, the fife and tabour, and to march through the town on high days preceded by his own band of the same. The band performs with considerable vim, but, to judge by the pathetic little caterwaulings emitted on these occasions, the singing would not seem to be of a high standard. As to natural history, a highly intelligent young English-speaking Turk assures me that they now [illegible] to distinguish between animals "with and without bones and with and without [illegible]." It is to be hoped that the Turkish vocabulary may at the same time be enriched to enable them to distinguish between the various classes of "black" birds and "white" birds and all those fierce animals larger than a cat which roam this wild [illegible] and are at present known under the generic term of "tiger." They will surely be driven to the Latin tongue to name their abundant flora. The same informant disagrees with the American missionaries as to whether the higher classes are taught "ethics" or "civics," or both. I have not been able to ascertain quite what these subjects comprise. I have intruded on a Turkish art class. Here [illegible] Whitewashed squares are evidently just whitewashed on his table and [illegible] New Grammar of Ornament with variant [illegible] have another lap [illegible] practical subjects such as [illegible] hygiene and [illegible]. Definite attempts are being made in the female teachers' training school at Adana to teach the rudiments of child welfare. And all young Turks, to learn by [illegible] Quinine [illegible] in this hotbed of malaria is one of the [illegible] innovations. Attempts [illegible] some schools have [illegible]. Now that the Greeks and Armenians have gone there is [illegible] in this region, and the Turks who can really make a [illegible] what they have [illegible] to use such things, with [illegible] Algebra, chemistry and physics are [illegible] the subjects taught in the higher classes. [illegible] provision [illegible] the Koran [illegible] not necessarily [illegible]. Having closed every French Mission school from Mersina to Mardin, the Turks now have difficulty in teaching French. The Adana Lycée is supposed to teach it, though I have heard of no [illegible] staff. The Turk Ojak has come to the rescue in Mersina, engaging the services of a Circassian ex-Army colonel who knows French better than his own language. Turkish notables and many business men let their boys go to Tarsus to learn what English they can get in the American College, that ancient seat of learning. The head of the American Mission at Adana, an English man, is also allowed to give English lessons in the Turkish Government School here. General criticisms of the curriculum are that too many subjects are attempted and too little time given to each. The system of oral examinations seems to be not only terrifying and confusing to the pupils, but unsound. Discipline is said to be generally good, though the iron hand is used rather than the influence of personality. Noise is not necessarily held to be a deterrent to study.

Village Schools.

6. Village schools have been started, though many villages are still without them, especially in the more inaccessible regions. Great difficulty is found in getting teachers, who are already too few to supply the towns, to go even to the less remote villages and to stay there when they have arrived. Villagers who do not send their children to school are fined, but, seeing the prevalence of child labour in the fields, I should think the pupils present as big a problem as the teachers. These village schools are, however, increasing in number year by year. Their curriculum is that of the elementary schools. The "Turk Ojak" of Adana has made an interesting and practical contribution in the form of a well equipped school of a modern type so situated as to provide for a group of [illegible] villages. A resident teacher lives in it. This institution also includes a medical clinic and pharmacy for the use of adults as well as the children.

Physical Training

7. I have mentioned in my report on modernisation that the Government is giving great importance to the encouragement of games and sports. Football and what the Americans call "volley ball" have been introduced into the secondary schools and the boys have physical drill and are taught gymnastics. Apart from the parades referred to above, children in all the schools are now taken for outings in the country from time to time.

General Results

8. Though it is hard to take the Turks or anything they do quite seriously, there is not the slightest doubt that they have made very good beginnings in the matter of education and that real progress is being made. Given the present driving force, the money raised for education (to education and not to armies or other objects), time to train better qualified teachers and, if feasible, a Latin script, I see no reason why the little Turk should not mentally advance considerably beyond his present definite accomplishment of being able to read and write.

I have &c.
R. E. W. CHAFY

Enclosure 3 in No. 14

Consul Knight to Sir G. Clerk

(No. 10.)

Trebizond, May 31, 1927

SIR,

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch No. 13 of the 30th ultimo, I have the honour to submit the following observations on the state of education in this town and district. In the case of the town, I have some first hand information to go upon, while in that of the district as a whole, and especially the interior, I have had no such opportunity and can only give, for what it is worth, a general impression formed under conditions the reverse of favourable for acquiring definite knowledge of any subject where Turkish susceptibilities are concerned.

2. At the Commercial School in Trebizond, where the pupils range in years from 15 to 20 or over, the most marked feature is the complete lack of discipline. The boys and youths come exactly when they please and work or not, as they like. They are for the most part, as a matter of fact, extremely slack, as might be expected under the circumstances, and nothing will induce them to do any homework. Their behaviour during class is fairly good, and they are more respectful towards a foreign master than is usually the case in English schools. French is the only foreign language taught. At the Commercial School the hours given to this subject have recently been increased, with the result that no time remained over for English to which an hour a day had previously been devoted by each of the three classes. Although the lessons were given by a genuine and well educated Englishman, the term examinations revealed a deplorably low standard of acquirement. Even in the case of French (only the vagest notions quite useless for practical purposes, is ever acquired in the provincial schools. Not a single higher official at Trebizond is able to express himself intelligibly in any language other than Turkish.) With very few exceptions, there is no keenness for acquiring knowledge and exceedingly little mental aptitude. These characteristics would seem to apply to all the schools in general, although less in the case of the girls than of the boys.

3. Both boys and girls now wear uniform suits and caps, and "crocodiles" of girls, escorted by mistresses, of course unveiled, are now so familiar a sight in the streets as no longer to attract attention. Physical drill and singing (combined practice in the execution of drill patriotic hymns) are included in the curriculum. The boys play football all the year round, but no other organised game. The girls seem to play no games at all, doubtless because their parents would strongly object to anything so indecorous.

4. I had occasion in my despatch No. 6 to refer to the educational work going on among the Kurdish youth of Bulanik, but the Kurdish people, if duller than the Turks, as the latter assert, cannot be more in need of education than the population

of this region as a whole, whether Turkish, Kurdish or Laz. Illiteracy is all but universal except in the larger towns, where perhaps 50 per cent. of the men have a smattering of the three R's sufficient to help them through with their not too complicated affairs. I should be surprised if one woman in a 100 could do more than sign her name. Indeed, very few go as far as that. Even the leading business men have no head for mathematics, and cannot make the simplest calculation without pencil and paper. The most elementary problems of percentage and interest are quite beyond their range, which sufficiently explains their dependence on agents in Constantinople for the transaction of business with foreign firms.

5. I need hardly add that the literary education of the people, even in the towns, is absolutely nil. Culture there is none, either Oriental or European, the former, such as there was, having passed away, and the latter not having had time to develop, if it ever does. Turkey seems to have fallen between two stools in this respect, as in others, and even if education becomes effectively compulsory, which is far from being the case as yet, and schools are multiplied to the desired extent, of which there is no reasonable prospect, it seems inevitable that the resulting cultural product is more likely to possess the weaknesses of both systems than the strength of either, and prove neither Eastern nor Western, neither Moslem nor Christian, ready to [illegible] everything according to the whim of the autocrat, by whatever name he calls himself, also necessarily all consciously or subconsciously recognise.

I have &c.
W. L. C. KNIGHT

Enclosure 4 in No. 14

Consul Dawkins to Sir G. Clerk

No. 10.)

Adrianople, April 11, 1927

SIR,

WITH regard to the progress of education here, I have the honour to report the substance of a conversation which I had recently with the director of the "Ecole israelite," who has spent a lifetime here and is well informed on the subject.

2. While there is so much to criticise in other ways, it is good to be able to state the main fact that emerges, viz., that serious efforts and progress are being made in this direction.

3. As regards this particular Jewish school, it is really supported to a large extent by the "Alliance israelite" at Paris. Under the ever increasing pressure of "Turkification" which bears ever more hardly upon the efficiency of the school, it is no longer called an "Ecole de l'Alliance," but an "Ecole communale"; and my French colleague, who misses no opportunity of currying favour with the Turks, now even ostentatiously avoids visiting it, although he formerly took great interest in it. There are about 900 pupils, boys and girls, from infants up to the age of 15 or 16. Free meals are given to attract the children of the very poor, and this is a feature which is said to have impressed the Turkish educational authorities. One remarkable thing is that the school is frequented by a few children of the most enlightened Turkish families, who come for the sake of the French they learn rather than to the "Lycees."

4. The Turkish educational establishments of the town, apart from a number of small primary schools, consist of two "Ecoles normales" for the training of male and female teachers and two Lycées, one for boys and one for girls. I do not know the exact figures, but the total numbers in these establishments amount to many hundreds of pupils. The "Lycees," many of whom are boarders, make a very good impression in the street in their neat uniforms. The boys' "Lycée" is a fine building and M. Mitrant assures me, is liberally equipped in a modern way. The "Ecoles normales" also appear to be flourishing institutions.

5. I asked the Vali not long ago how the schools in general were getting on, and he told me that they still lacked accommodation. However that may be, I gathered from his general manner that this subject really does receive serious attention from the authorities, who are making as genuine efforts to advance themselves as they are to "squeeze out" all non-Turkish education. Of the many excellent foreign supported schools that flourished here before the Great War (when

it is true the position was four times worse. It is now the only one remaining. Are this Jewish school which feels the day drawing near when all instruction must be given in Turkish and no longer in French, and the "Collège français" of the Assumptionists which, through lack of pupils, is open only in name.

6. One cannot, I think, help feeling some sympathy for the authorities of this Jewish school, who observe, quite simply, that for one reason or another the "Lycée" pupils do not learn much French (I suppose about as much as English schoolboys), and that Jews in this country, unless they know one foreign language really well enough to be able to use it in their natural disposition for commerce, have not a very bright future as Turkish citizens.

I have, &c.
J. M. G. DAWKINS.

E 3351/257/44 No. 16

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain. (Received August 9.)

(No. 395.)

Sir,

Therapia, July 27, 1927.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 380 of the 20th July, I have the honour to transmit herewith copies of reports on public health in Turkey, prepared by His Majesty's consuls in Smyrna, Trebizond and Mersina.*

2. These reports show that the subjection of almost the entire population of Turkey to a variety of pulmonary tuberculosis, the epidemic nature of infantile mortality, and the very poor vitality of the country's people constitute a serious menace to the country. Little or no steps to prevent the regular decimation of the population. Institutions such as the Red Crescent Society, the Society for the Protection of Children and the Anti-Tubercular League collect considerable amount of money for the extirpation of the more virulent diseases from which the people suffer. But corruption in the administration of these societies and the ignorance of their officers result in the waste of a large proportion of their funds. Elsewhere ignorance and laziness play an equally vicious rôle, and except in the case of institutions under European control, there is, in actual fact, little advance in the methods of safeguarding public health to be recorded.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 3352/257/44 No. 17

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain. (Received August 2.)

(No. 398.)

Sir,

Therapia, July 27, 1927.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 380 of the 20th instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith copies of notes on the aims of the Turk Odjaghi or Foyers turcs which are the result of observations made of their activity by His Majesty's consuls in Smyrna, Adrianople and Trebizond.

2. These clubs have been established throughout the breadth of Turkey for the purpose of spreading knowledge of Western culture and of modern social and scientific ideas. It is the claim that they open a door into Turkey for those ideas in Western thought which the old Islamic and pan-Turanian champions have striven to exclude. At the same time they are supposed to be free from all political ties. But on a point of fact, being the agents for the spread of the gospel of the New Turks, it is the claim that they should be in close contact with the people of the Republic and should use as its instruments in the province

* Not printed.

it is interesting to see to what extent the clubs are being used as local agencies of the Government in districts where there is some authority independent of the authority of Angora through the usual channels.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure 1 in No. 17

Memorandum by Consular Officer at Smyrna on the Turk Odjaghi and the Popular Party.

THE Popular party is absolutely predominant in Smyrna. The leader of the party, Sadeddine Bey, is spoken of by the most influential [illegible] who [illegible] has certainly [illegible] in the hands of the Governor-General, the military authorities, and most other officials. He is much more the direct representative of the Central Government than is the Governor-General himself in that measures are often taken on his recommendation without any reference to Angora.

The opposition to the Government is practically [illegible] in Smyrna. [illegible] espionage which has its ramifications in every department and in every commercial enterprise. Nothing appears to remain unknown to the authorities. The military [illegible] Smyrna [illegible] has as a thorough [illegible] necessity.

Sadeddine Bey's right hand man is the present president of the municipality, Aziz Bey, a former Vali of Smyrna. These two persons are largely responsible for the establishment of Turk Odjaghis in three quarters of the town, which are centres of discussion of current events and problems for the young Turks of Smyrna. There is a large membership of these institutions, one side of which provides a means of disseminating such propaganda as the Government may desire amongst the young and the collection of information as to the private interests, spirit and tendencies of their members. The secretary of the branch at Alsandjak in the European residential quarter of the town boasts that he has in his possession full information regarding the work, activities and sympathies of every [illegible] and every Turk living in that district. If this is so, the system of collecting that information is thorough. Practically all Turkish employees of any standard of education working with foreign companies or firms are members of these institutions.

The other side of the Turk Odjaghis is scientific, cultural and social. They are said to be organised by private initiative, that is to say, quite independent of Government aid, the local Valis are recommended to afford their both moral and financial support where necessary. Their aim is the development of contemporary civilisation and of democracy. To this end great stress is laid on the necessity for popular education. Evening classes are held there for foreign languages, especially French and for book keeping, history and geography. Lectures and concert shows of an educational nature are held. Foreign lecturers are sometimes invited such as the French consul general in Smyrna, who recently gave a lecture on the Turkish language on patriotism and M. Omer Buyse a Belgian, who has spoken at the Turk Odjaghi on education. An art exhibition is at present being held under their auspices. Each branch of the Turk Odjaghi is also supplied with a radio set and crowds gather in the evenings to listen in to Vienna and elsewhere. The branch at Aidin is similarly equipped.

They also take an interest in sports. Aziz Bey has made a great point of the participation of all members of the Turk Odjaghi in the reorganisation of the football ground and stadium and [illegible] popularity is great.

It is claimed that the Turk Odjaghi is not a political organisation, and above all not as some have supposed an instrument for pan-Asiatic or anti-European propaganda. Its general policy is that of the Popular party with which it is therefore in close touch. That policy is to promote nationalism. But acting

the youth and the intellectual classes the Turk Odjaghi may claim to have played a definite role in the resurrection of the people and in their present day organisation.

As a meeting place of malcontents the Turk Odjaghi has incurred the dislike of many Europeans who are employers of Turkish labour. It is difficult to determine how far this is justified. Certain it is that grievances are laid before the authorities with surprising speed and sometimes with surprising results. Probably this is the channel through which many of these grievances pass.

Enclosure 2 in No. 7.

Memorandum by Consular Officer at Trebizond on the Turk Odjaghi.

ONE hears practically nothing of this new society, its social side was taken over by the "Adalar Cemiyeti" which was formed a year ago, and of which membership is confined. This does not in the least mean to say that the Odjaghi has ceased to exist. It has rather been due to its useful work from a social point of view which its initiating spirit has been merged in a larger enterprise. In the small towns the Odjaghi is still the centre of social life, e.g. at Molgara, a country town between Rodosto and Ainos, which I have visited, it has sown into the neighbouring villages, and seemed to be regarded as a sort of restaurant for the officers of district.

Trebizond, May 25, 1927.

Enclosure 3 in No. 7.

Consul Knight to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 6.)

Trebizond, May 25, 1927.

SIR,

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch No. 13 of the 30th ultimo, I have the honour to report that it is extraordinarily difficult to obtain any information with regard to the activities of the Turk Odjaghi in this district. Its members, who appear to be very few in number, are extremely secretive, and little or no interest is taken in their or their doings by the general public.

2. A short time after my arrival in Trebizond in 1925, on the occasion of the Bairam festivities, I left a card on the president at the local premises of the society, but no notice was ever taken of my well-meant act of civility. Some time later however, a visit was made the recipient of a ticket for a theatrical entertainment organised for the benefit of the Trebizond branch. The price demanded for admission was the preposterous sum of 50 liras, and my colleagues and myself unanimously declined to patronise the performance, under the circumstances. My Persian colleague was particularly indignant, as he told me there had been a recent case of virulent anti-Persian propaganda on the part of the Turk Odjaghi as a whole, for he had reason to believe, especially at that time, that its political activities were no less violently anti-British.

3. The office of president of the local branch has been held since I came to Trebizond by a number of modern young men, all equally insignificant and unrepresentative. There appears to be a good deal of jealousy and bad feeling among the members, especially with regard to any of their number who have been shown to be expert Europeans, and especially consular officers. The whole tone of the organisation is beyond a doubt not only narrow, but distinctly anti-foreign, and one of its fundamental principles is that a member of a branch may never even feel gratitude towards any foreign individual or institution, or be expected to make a sacrifice of material or moral obligation thereto. This will have been found, however, to allow of an exception where money is concerned, at any rate in the case of persons like consuls, presumed to represent a contribution of 50 liras at least to the local war chest.

4. I chanced lately to glean some interesting information about a side of the Turk Odjaghi's activities that is probably little known to the outside world, viz. the work of its local representatives, invariably drawn from outside, among the Kurdish peasants still left after the recent deportations from what has hitherto been known as Turkish Kurdistan. Although the locality in question, Bulanik in the Vilayet of Bitlis, is not actually within my consular district, conditions there do not less resemble those in the largely Kurdish Vilayets of Bayezid and Erzerum. Moreover, I understand that Bitlis is not at present under the even nominal supervision of any of my colleagues, so that I need have no fear of trespassing even on paper.

5. At Bulanik the president of the local branch of the Odjaghi is the "directeur et médecin de la maison sanitaire" of the kaza, viz. one of the medical students who, to qualify for their Turkish degree, must put in two successive years in the provinces as dispensary doctors. I understand that one of these temporary officials is attached, at least in theory, to the administration of every kaza in the country. The services of the medical officer in Bulanik are naturally rendered more comprehensive by his position in the Turk Odjaghi, where he is actively assisted by the kaimakam, but it is not clear whether there are any other members. Under their auspices the Kurds remaining in the surrounding country, after the deportation of the Jews and their families and retainers, have been formally moved into the town, if such it can be called, for the purpose of being civilised. Their place on the land has been taken, it is averred by Moslem refugees or emigrants from Russian Transcaucasia. I gather, however, that these are not of very recent date, and that their presence does not indicate that any migratory movement into Turkey has set in, though much has been said about the colonisation of the eastern vilayets from Russia. The lands now thus occupied were apparently originally Armenian, were seized by the Kurds at present undergoing civilisation in Bulanik during or after the Armenian massacres.

6. It appears that, while a year and a half ago there were only forty houses in Bulanik, they now number 400. The new dwellings have been built of wood by the incoming Kurds. There were, I understand, that time only eight couples in the village school, but these have now increased, through the efforts of the Odjaghi, to approximately 300. There not a single girl attended school; now there are about fifty girl pupils. The people are said to be delighted to be rid of their beys, and subjected to the civilising process, to which they respond with remarkable promptness. The Kurdish children acquire knowledge with much greater readiness than the Turkish, and are particularly quick to learn by heart. These tendencies, however, have hitherto disappeared at the age of puberty, owing to the system of precocious marriages, in which, as in other respects, the Odjaghi sees that the modern laws are duly respected. It remains to be seen whether the male Kurdish youth, delivered by a paternal Government from such relaxing influences, will now carry their infantile briskness of intellect into literary discussion and manhood years.

7. Finally, the Turk Odjaghi has prescribed the Kurdish language at any rate in public, and no Kurd who is unable to express himself in Turkish can gain the ear of any official, however humble. The Odjaghi evidently takes a special pride in endeavouring to stamp out every trace of non-Turkish blood, and if education really becomes compulsory to any considerable extent it will no doubt attain at least to the creation of a bilingual people in those regions where Turkish is at present apparently scarcely spoken and but little understood. That the Kurds are fast turning into loyal Turkish patriots is confidently asserted, and, incredible as it may seem, this actually does become the case, the Turk Odjaghi will undoubtedly deserve a very large proportion of the credit.

I have, &c.

W. L. C. KNIGHT.

[E 3353/1672/44] No. 18.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 2.)

(No. 399.) *Therapia, July 27, 1927.*

Sir,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 385 of the 20th July transmitting a copy of the contract for the construction of the Karabia-Yavchauli and extension and the Orum Kishla-Bozaz Keuprü lines, I have the honour to enclose herewith copy of a supplementary memorandum,* compiled by the Ottoman Bank in which an examination is made of the annual charge upon the Turkish Treasury of the programme of railway construction which foreign groups are under contract to carry out on behalf of the Government.

2. According to this memorandum, the cost to the Turkish Government during the current financial year of the various railway undertakings now in process of construction is £T. 25,755,000. This amount, however, includes the sum of £T. 2,955,000 which the Government has provisionally allocated to the construction of the ports of Mersina and Samsoun, and it was anticipated that the German firm of Julius Berger would include these undertakings in their contract with the Turkish Government. As the firm have either refused to carry out this work or have not yet come to any definite decision on the subject, the budget allocation in this respect need not be taken into account in the total estimates for the current financial year, and the amount to be met by the Government is thus reduced to £T. 22,800,000. For the financial year 1928-29 the charge upon the budget of the Ministry of Public Works in regard to railway and port construction will be £T. 26 million, this amount including the allocation for the construction of the ports of Mersina and Samsoun.

3. The Turkish Government was granted in December last authority to issue bonds, up to a total of £T. 200 million, to cover railway and port construction. Of this total sum, the following amounts have already been covered:—

		£T.	
(a.) Belgian group	...	30,000,000	over a period of six years.
(b.) Swedish group	..	110,000,000	over a period of ten years.
(c.) German group		38,100,000	over a period of eight years.
Total ...	..	178,100,000	

The average annual charge upon the Turkish Government in respect to these undertakings, and irrespective of interest on the long-term bonds, is as follows:—

£T. 20,750,000 for the first six years as from the 1st June, 1927.
£T. 15,750,000 for the seventh and eighth years.
£T. 11,500,000 for ninth and tenth years.

4. In addition to the capital sums referred to above, the Ministry of Public Works has been authorised to expend the sum of £T. 20 million on port construction, this sum being repayable in four years. On the assumption that this amount is actually utilised, it will be observed that the total engagements of the Turkish Government will amount to £T. 198,100,000, thus leaving a balance of slightly under £T. 2 million from the authorised bond issue of £T. 200 million.

5. The Government is at present in negotiation with yet another financial group for the construction of a railway line from Ada Bazar through Castamonu to a port on the Samsoun-Sivas Railway, and if an agreement is reached it appears that the Turkish Government will be obliged to exceed the maximum expenditure authorised by the Assembly. Apart from the fact that the annual charge upon the Turkish Treasury is already considerable, the evident desire of the Government to enter into new and costly contracts is likely to cause the groups already committed to public works undertakings in this country to view with great concern the security of the guarantees offered by the Government.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

* Not printed.

[E 3354/1761/44] No. 19.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 2.)

(No. 400.) *Therapia, July 27, 1927.*

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a report by my military attaché on a recent tour which he made from Trebizond to Jerablus and Adana.

2. The memoranda prepared for the War Office are of a technical nature, and only forwarded for convenience of reference, but the general description of the tour and of the impressions received are of interest. I do not presume to assess the military value of the information acquired by Major Harenc, but it is clear from his report that his patience and persistence in establishing good personal relations with the Turkish military authorities have not been without reward, and the general friendliness of the Turks towards him personally is gratifying and encouraging. The moral to be drawn is that, in military matters, just as in political and business relations, patience and personal acquaintance are the two essential requisites for getting anything out of the Turk. His first instinct is suspicion, and he acts accordingly. The contrast between Major Harenc's experience on this occasion and his last tour, reported in my despatch No. 280 of the 8th June last, when he was accompanied by an officer whom the Turks did not know, brings this out.

3. I should perhaps record, with reference to my despatch No. 308 of the 16th June last, that His Majesty's consul at Trebizond informs me that the Russian consul-general there was much upset by Major Harenc's visit to that port and to Hoppeh, which he maintained was for the purpose of instituting a British organisation among the White Russian refugees in the district, who were used for espionage across the frontier.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

Enclosure in No. 19.

Major Harenc to Sir G. Clerk.

Constantinople, July 20, 1927.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward a description of a tour from which I have just returned. I attach a rough sketch map* showing the tour as originally approved by the General Staff at Angora (Black Sea ports, part of the Pontus region and the Anti Taurus) and as it was finally made, as well as a note on the impressions which I gained during its course.

2. I also attach copies of memoranda† prepared for the Director of Military Operations and Intelligence at the War Office, which deal with military information obtained.

I have, &c.
R. E. HARENC.

General Description of the Tour.

Up to the end of 1925 the Turkish General Staff had refused to allow me to travel east of Sivas. On the last occasion I visited Angora, after much argument, I obtained permission to travel anywhere I wished in Turkey, but I was not allowed to cross the Euphrates, and before starting on such a tour I was to send to the General Staff a list of the places I wished to visit. After further correspondence with the General Staff, during which Baburt and Erzerum, both west of the Euphrates, were ruled out, I obtained, in the beginning of June, permission to visit

* Not reproduced. † Not printed.

certain of the ports on the Black Sea and from Trebizond to make my way southwards, visiting various towns of archæological interest, as far as Jerablus, on the Euphrates.

I had made all my arrangements to start on the 20th June, when on the 19th I received a letter from the General Staff at Angora to the effect that, since the road from Malatia to Marash was not practicable for a car, I was recommended not to do it, and therefore I could return to Constantinople viâ Sivas, Karsavie and Angora. To this I replied that, if it was only that they thought it would bore me to ride this section of the tour, they must not think that, as I was very fond of riding and quite fit to stand the strain, but if there were any other reasons why I should not do this journey, then would they please send instructions to Malatia. This appeared to me a confirmation of a rumour that I had heard a day or two previously that there was trouble in the Ante Taurus region, and I was therefore all the keener to go and see for myself.

2. I did not wait for an answer to my letter, and started by the steamship "Kara Deniz," of the Seir i Sefain Line, on the 20th as arranged. This ship is one of the biggest of the line, is quite clean, boasts a bathroom which is reserved as such, beyond expressing mild surprise at the frequency with which I used it, the stewards supplied all that I wanted, and, except for the meals, which are very Turkish, both as regards menu and methods of cooking, compares favourably with the "600-ton vessels of the Peninsular and Oriental lines.

On arrival at Trebizond I called on Mr. Knight, His Majesty's consul, and had not been in the consulate ten minutes when Lieutenant Assim, of the 9th Divisional Staff, called with the information that he was at my disposal as a guide or for any other purpose. I was disappointed, as I thought I recognised the species "Sleuth," and did hope that on this occasion I should be let off this type of encumbrance. However, I thanked him; explained that I was only on shore for an hour or so, during which time Mr. Knight, who knew the town well, would look after me, that I was going on to Hoppeh, returning on the 25th, when I should ask for the honour of an interview with the officer commanding the garrison. Assim Effendi went off, but he was at the quay when I arrived there and saw me on board.

3. I went on to Hoppeh, where I went on shore, and also at Rizeh on the return journey, finally arriving at Trebizond the 25th, afternoon. Assim Bey again arrived at the consulate ten minutes after I did and arranged to call for me the next day to take me to see the officer commanding troops.

He was half an hour late for this appointment (probably due to a slight uncertainty as to the hour at which the sun set, for they still work by Turkish time in these parts), so I went out alone, met him in the town, and we called on the officer commanding the division. Halid Bey was not helpful; told me that it was impossible to go by car from Gumushkhaneh to Kara Hissar (which was correct, but the General Staff might have told me that); that horses at this time of the year were grazing, and therefore unobtainable. He did not hold out any hopes of getting them from the gendarmerie and refused to act as intermediary with them. I felt sure he was lying, that the General Staff had some reason for not wanting me to do that bit of road and had wired him to that effect; anyway, I was determined to go and see for myself.

4. I saw no more of Assim Effendi, and on Tuesday, the 28th, drove by car to Gumushkhaneh, and much to my surprise I was allowed to go alone. Immediately on arrival there I went round the town to try and get pack transport, and failed miserably. There were no ponies available except those on the summer grazing grounds, and therefore not fit for work. I also found out that the direct road to Kara Hissar Sharki was not fit for a car, but that one could go round viâ Erzinjan (the latter town had been put out of bounds for me by the General Staff). Later, when I saw the Vali, who happened to be an old acquaintance of mine from Kirklar Elli, I tried to persuade him to let me go that way without stopping at Erzinjan, but he refused to do it without reference to Angora. Otherwise he did his best, for he tried to borrow horses from the gendarmerie for me, but they have only six mounted gendarmes there, and four of these are always on patrol. I had to own that "I was mistaken in my judgments" as regards Halid Bey, and returned to Trebizond.

The plot, to my mind, thickened, for why, if this stretch was impossible for a car, had not the General Staff said so, if they were so anxious that I should not tire myself?

5. I returned to Trebizond by car, from there by the steamship "Reshad Pasha," another of Seir i Sefain boats, and also quite comfortable but lacking a

bathroom, went to Kirasun, and thence by car to Kara Hissar Sharki, through magnificent mountain scenery which I should have enjoyed thoroughly if I had had more confidence in the chauffeur.

At Kara Hissar the gendarmerie commandant, on being told that I had tried to get horses to ride from Gumushkhaneh to Kara Hissar, volunteered the information that the road was unsafe without an escort, and tried to make my flesh creep with tales of Kurds on the Sivas road, who, if anything happened to the car, would make things unpleasant for me, but when I suggested an escort, said he could not give me one without orders.

I got off alone in the same car at 5 o'clock the next morning; this was not too early for the Vali and the gendarmerie commandant to come and wish me a safe journey without any involuntary stoppages, and I must confess that I had a sinking feeling when, at 10 A.M. and miles from anywhere, the differential casing of the car broke, and at once three stalwart villagers carrying various murderous-looking agricultural implements appeared. However, they stopped and helped, and when at 4.30 P.M., the chauffeur finally gave up trying to take down the mechanism in order to substitute a spare, one of them went off with the chauffeur to help him carry the shaft and spare differential casing to a village 12 miles away where a blacksmith might be found; one of them stayed with the assistant chauffeur and the car for that night, and the third, who was the [illegible] man of the nearest village, called Ekin Enzu, [illegible] on which my kit was loaded, took me to his village for the night, where I was most hospitable. He brought in another pony from grazing for me to ride, and finally sent me off the next morning with his nephew leading the pack pony to do the 27 miles over the hills to Zara.

We had done about 12 miles when three gendarmes caught up my caravan. They halted for a few minutes with the village lad and then two of them went off at a gallop; the third, a non commissioned officer, came up to me. Asked what he was doing (replied that he was on patrol), where was he going? returning to his post at Sherifieh (the point I was making for), where had the others gone? to Sherifieh. We proceeded in this fashion to Sherifieh, another 4 miles, where a gendarmerie captain (armed to the teeth), while treating me like a prodigal son in that he produced an excellent meal, thanked God that I was safe. I was naturally rather surprised, and asked what all the excitement was about, upon which he gave me the whole story.

Apparently the Vali of Kara Hissar wired the Vali of Sivas that I had started; when I did not arrive at Sivas by 9 P.M., the Vali of Sivas wired the Kaimakams of Enderes and Zara for news. The former reported my departure, and the latter my non arrival at Zara, whereupon he was ordered to get the gendarmerie out. The gendarmerie commandant left Zara at midnight with ten gendarmes and rode to Sherifieh, whence he sent out patrols; one of these, going straight up the road, had come upon my derelict car, traced me to the village, and so caught me up, but it was curious that the gendarmes [illegible] nothing of this. I suppose their orders were to find me and bring me to Sherifieh; when they found out that I was going there on my own, they did not feel called upon to do anything more than see that I got there.

The gendarmerie commandant also told me that the kaimakam was coming out to pick me up as soon as he could get a car. As he had not arrived by noon, we started to ride the 20 miles into Zara along the road, and later, when we had done about 8 out of the 20 miles, met him, accompanied by three gendarmes and driven by what I am sure is the village idiot. Apparently, while trying to avoid one of the numerous boulders on the road, the chauffeur had hitched the car and their united efforts failed to right it. After mutual congratulations regarding each other's safety, we all piled into the car and drove into Zara along the worst road on which it has ever been my lot to travel. At Zara another car was obtained and we drove into Sivas, arriving at 10.30 P.M.

6. There I was met by a major of the Veterinary Corps, who informed me that he had been detailed to do all that was possible to make my stay in Sivas pleasant, [illegible] the divisional commander would like to see me next morning as he had some instructions for me and what were my orders. By this time I had but three ideas: to wash, [illegible] to bed and this I told him, but he would keep hovering over me and making suggestions, first as to the location of the bed. I had my own and preferred using it, then regarding the arrangements of the dressing table, I had also my own dressing kit, and many other things, all in the most execrable halting English which he had learnt in a prisoners of war camp in Burma. When he had asked for the twentieth time what else he could do for me, I told him, I am afraid

fairly forcibly to leave me alone then, but I should be glad to see him any time after 8 o'clock the next morning to go with him wherever he wanted. I thought he had taken me at my word for he left me. I called up one of the servants of the Han, ordered something to eat and washed. A little later I came out of my room and there he was, at the same time up, time my dinner, which this tactless ass insisted on inspecting, asked where it came from, and because it had not come from the restaurant of his choice and in spite of my almost tearful entreaties, ordered it away. This defeated me. I dressed again, and went out with him to eat his dinner, but the best was yet to come, for when we got to the restaurant of his choice it was shut and we had to eat in the restaurant whence my rejected meal had come, also the only things left to eat were the two things I had ordered. Who won over that passage of arms? I suppose he did, for I had to sit up and listen to his positively frightful English and make suitable replies for at least an hour. We finally parted after midnight, but not before I had got a good deal of information about his corps, which I badly wanted.

7. He arrived the next morning and we called on the colonel commanding the infantry of the division, the general officer commanding being away. Lieutenant-Colonel Abdul Kadir is a cheerful, intelligent individual. My friend the veterinary major must have already reported the scene of the night before, for Abdul Kadir told me to pay no attention to him; and that as I did not require an interpreter and already knew my way about the town, I was to send him about his business if I did not want him, his business being to be useful and not a nuisance.

The General Staff had wired to Colonel Abdul Kadir repeating the instructions contained in the letter mentioned in paragraph 1. I was unable to find out from him why I was not allowed to go beyond Malatia, except that "it was not recommended." All his instructions were that I could go to Malatia and return to Constantinople via Sivas and Kaisarie.

The various delays which had occurred had already decided me not to attempt Malatia if it meant coming back on my tracks, instead, to get down to Marash as fast as I could and make another attempt to get into the triangle Malatia-Kaisarie-Marash from the south. I therefore told him that I proposed to go straight on to Adana and continue the last half of my original programme from there unless there was any objection. He knew of none, so I asked him to wire the General Staff to send any instructions they had to Adana.

8. I left the next morning, and, after two days' bumping over a road which had deteriorated considerably since last year, I found the station-master at Ulu Kishlar was an old acquaintance. This eased things considerably, for, with the help of the police on the train, he cleared a coupé compartment for me, and got the policeman to wire to the chief of the police at Adana station to reserve a room for me in the new hotel. The latter, also an old friend, came to the door of my carriage with two porters, collected my luggage, put me into a car which he had reserved, and gave me the number of my room.

Just as I was driving off, up came a distracted lieutenant, by name Ekrem, who had been looking for me on the platform. He made the usual speech introducing himself and since the car, a Ford, was full of luggage, followed me to the hotel.

When we saw each other in the light, recognition was mutual, for he had been at the hotel at Kaisarie when I went there on my first trip in 1925, and had been most helpful in dealing with a refractory chauffeur. We foregathered over two bottles of beer and he kept me company in my room while I dined, after which he left me, promising to pick me up the next morning to call on the divisional commander.

The divisional commander had no information for me, except the phrase of which by this time I was tired, "it is not recommended for you to do the journey between Malatia and Marash." He was not very helpful as he had no recent time-tables of the trains, nor had he much information regarding the roads outside his area. Otherwise he was very pleasant, volunteered more information about his division than any one in his position has ever done, and told me to use Ekrem Bey as a courier. Ekrem did all he possibly could to help and asked if he might accompany me on my journey to Marash and Aintab. This did not suit my book at all, for I wanted to make one more attempt to get into that area from the south, but I could hardly refuse his company, and he said he would get leave from the general.

I sent him off to get the latest time-table, and went to the bank. There the bank manager was really useful, produced a time-table and had definite information about roads, so in his office I was able to reorganise my shattered plans and

arranged to go to Aleppo and then come up from the south, so as to give me, if not a chance of going north from Aintab, at least a sporting chance of doing the journey Jerablus–Aintab–Marash alone.

On my return to the hotel I told Ekrem, much to his disappointment, of the change in my plans; he presumed that I should stay two or three days in Aleppo and hoped to meet me at Jerablus. He did not attempt to shadow me as I told him I knew the town, but took me to the station in the evening and was most useful in getting soldiers to take my kit into the train, for there are seldom any porters available at Adana, and also in getting my ticket. At Adana there is only one window in the ticket office and only one clerk, who opens the office half-an hour before the trains start to issue tickets for anything up to 100 people. I stood and watched him at work while a non-commissioned officer got my ticket for me; and I calculate that of the intending passengers 20 per cent. must have missed the train, what the clerk must make out of small change—for he never gives any—must amount to a considerable sum per day.

9. I only put in one night at Aleppo and left early the next morning by car for Jerablus, where the officer in charge of the frontier post knew all about me but had not expected me for two or three days. I went straight on without stopping, as the ruins of Carachemish have been gutted of everything of archæological interest and reached Aintab the same evening, where at long last I got it quite definitely in conversation with the Turkish sub-director of the Ottoman Bank that the Malatia [illegible]

The next morning I went on to Marash. The chief of the police was waiting for me at the post on the outskirts of the town. He arranged to empty a room in the Han, telegraphed to Keller to find out about trains, and generally make himself useful without being embarrassing. In this he was unlike Colonel Hajji Shukri commanding the 2nd Infantry Regiment, who, after I had prepared myself one of those lunches which occur with such distressing frequency on these trips, and was [illegible] half through it, came and called, sat for half an hour while my tea got cold and generally was fussy; he offered but did not insist on attaching an officer to me, consequently I was able to chat to various people in the Han. Here I confirmed that fact that the road was dangerous on account of brigands, that all transport between Marash and Albistan and Marash and Malatia had to be escorted. One of my informants, with ten ponies' loads of assorted hardware, was waiting for an escorted caravan to go to Albistan.

10. The next day I paid my return call on Colonel Hajji Shukri at his office at the barracks. He was, at first, inclined to keep me at arm's length, but after a quarter of an hour's conversation and the discovery of several mutual acquaintances in the army, he became most communicative, took me out to his regimental training grounds and showed me his methods of intensive training, and took me to call on the Vali. Finally, they both came and saw me off when I started for Keller in a car which the chief of police had selected for me.

11. Keller is the nearest point on the railway for both Marash and Aintab; it will in time be the junction for the branch line to Kharput and Diabekir, and work on the earthworks has already commenced.

Here I boarded a train for Constantinople at midnight; on arriving at Adana at 6 o'clock the next morning, Ekrem Bey was waiting for me. We discussed my movements since we last met, and he said he was sorry he was not at Jerablus to do the journey with me, but since I had cut my visit so short at Aleppo he had not been able to get down there. I complained of the heat at Aleppo and consoled him for his disappointment at not seeing the ruins of Carachemish, which are hardly worth seeing, everything of interest having been removed to Constantinople in the last eighteen months.

He was again most useful in getting my luggage re-registered and obtaining my ticket, and we parted, with mutual expressions of regard, which on my part at any rate, were quite sincere.

12. Although at times I have thought I was being shadowed, I honestly believe that the military authorities detailed these officers for my assistance, and because they cannot understand that when travelling I like to be alone, for when I was able to persuade them that I was really quite competent to look after myself they did not attempt to force their attentions upon me, and, indeed, at times I have been very glad of their assistance.

Throughout my trip I received the most courteous attention from all the civil authorities, who spared no trouble in order to make things as pleasant as possible

for me, and to whom, on the occasion when my car broke down, I must have been a considerable nuisance.

The tour on the whole has been a success. I hope that I have not been tactless in going on with it in spite of the numerous suggestions to go back to Constantinople from Sivas; but if they had wished me not to go on they could easily have said, as in Colonel Nazli's famous phrase: "Il n'est pas convenable."

Notes on the Impressions gained during the Tour, June 20 to July 13, 1927.

Although I have found that the Turks are usually averse from discussing the affairs of Turkey with me, on this occasion it was noticeable that those with whom I was able to talk alone for more than a quarter of an hour, seemed much more ready than usual to give me their views.

It may be that the anti British feeling, if there ever was any, is dying out; it was certainly of great assistance that in many of the places I visited I had old acquaintances, or mutual acquaintances in other towns with the person I was talking to, but I think the most likely version is that I have gained a "lighter touch" in my methods of conversation. But whatever the reason may be, this was the first impression I gained and it remains the most salient one of the tour.

2. From Hoppeh to Kirasun, the first thing that the man in the street talks about after he has found out your nationality is the wanton destruction of property by the Russians during their occupation. Judging by the descriptions by Turks of the behaviour of our troops during the occupation these are probably slightly exaggerated, but the impression one gets is that the Russians in that area are hated by all classes. Though the Soviet consul at Trebizond does his best by being "a fellow well met" with everyone, the lawless nature of the Russian border, where small bands come over into Turkey and loot cattle and property, and the treatment meted out to any Turk who crosses into Russia for trade or other purposes, serves to keep this hatred alive. How far the stories are true of Turks being seized on the frontier, put into prison and sent back destitute after two or three months, I cannot say, but I saw the Vali of Artvin start off from Hoppeh to return to his headquarters escorted by twenty five gendarmes, a police commissaire who was taking me to call on the kaimakam explained that they were for his protection against the Russian looting parties.

Apparently, just before I arrived one of the local papers had stated that war between Great Britain and Russia was imminent, and on several occasions the pious hope was expressed that the British fleet would soon arrive to blow Batoum to pieces. I was warned, however, to be careful of their mines!

3. The departure of the Greeks from the Pontus region has, if the man in the street is to be believed, made life very hard for the local farmer. Although there is going to be a bumper crop of nuts, fears are frequently expressed that owing to lack of capital and the impossibility of the local exporter obtaining it, the crop owners will not be able to get a fair price for their produce. As one man said: "The Government has sent away the Greeks who bought our stuff and all it has given us is a hat", this in front of a policeman, who made no protest.

4. There is also among the working classes some discontent with the heaviness of the taxes. The ones chiefly disliked are the road and school taxes. And certainly from my experience of the roads the £1 10*s*. per head collected for the road tax does not appear to be put entirely into the roads, which are to anyone accustomed to civilised countries appalling. It was news to me that a man can do ten days' work on the roads instead of paying the tax. Over the 1,200 miles of road which I did on this trip the average running time works out at a fraction under 12 miles per hour, and that driven by chauffeurs who have no consideration for either the springs of the car or the comfort of the passenger.

There seems to be little systematic work done. For example, the stones collected in 1925 for the repair of the Nizde–Ulu Kishlar road are still in the place they were then, and grass is growing thickly on them. I think the trouble is that there is no inspection by trustworthy authority of work being done, and the system of letting out the work in stretches of 100 to 1,000 metres to contractors does not conduce to either good or level work. Lastly, the scarcity of steam-rollers and their custom of metalling stretches of road to which a steam-roller cannot be brought because of the weakness of an intervening bridge, means that even when a road has been metalled, before the metalling has been rolled in, the traffic has worn 6-inch deep ruts on the

road. I do not know whether it is that I am getting old or whether it was a ricked back, the result of a slight carriage accident at Trebizond, but the roads seem to be worse than a year ago.

The abolition of the "dime" does not appear to have given the satisfaction it should. This I found hard to understand, for a payment on percentage basis of actual produce transported ought to be fairer than an estimate of the value of a crop by a possibly ignorant official, but the cultivator does not see it. The explanation may be in the remark of a villager in the Zara district: "When the dimes were in force we only had one man to deal with and that was easy, now there are several officials who have to be squared before the stuff is sold."

Incidentally, from Kara Hissar Sharki to Ulu Kishlar, except where irrigation is possible, the cereal crops are very poor.

5. Some of the lines along which Turkey is developing her craze for westernisation can be very trying for the traveller such as myself.

Apart from the one exception of Adana, where the Yeni Hotel is excellent, and the nearest approach to modern civilisation outside Constantinople that I have yet seen, there is not a bath, modern sanitation, or even a decent standard of cleanliness to be found in any of the Hans (hotels they call themselves). Yet most of them, even the smallest, have got at least one waitress, and the gramophone is ubiquitous and in great request.

At Sivas I saw an advertisement of the newly opened Erjias Palace Hotel at Kaisarie, which claimed for it "all modern comforts, including hot and cold private baths, bar, dancing, &c." When I got to Kaisarie I foolishly deserted the well-tried Seha Hotel for this establishment, attracted to it by the thoughts of wallowing in hot water up to my chin. When it came to giving the order for the bath, the manager was profuse in his apologies, they did, indeed, possess a nice full-length bath and a geyser but these still had paper wrapped round them and water had not been laid on to the room selected for a bathroom.

Disappointed there, after my usual indiarubber bath, I went up to sample the "dancing". The room was arranged cabaret fashion with little tables all round the walls with a space in the centre for dancing. When I arrived at 9 P.M. there were two groups in the room, the manager and his assistant at one table, at another two gendarmerie officers and, strange apparition for Turkey—a professional Turkish woman dancing partner. The room filled by degrees, and this girl went round in the approved fashion from one table to another to have a drink at each; in the interval, she selected the records for the gramophone, and would no doubt have danced if anyone had asked her to do so, but the floor, which was of stone, had so many bits out of it that dancing would have been difficult, if not actually dangerous. I did not enquire if she performed any other duties, she certainly made the beer flow freely. I retired at 11, but the fun (*sic*) was kept up directly over my head till 2 A.M., at which hour the fleas found me, so I got up and wrote road reports till 4, and started off again at 5.

The Vali of Marash, with whom I had some difficulty at making my conversation spread over the statutory 15 minutes visit, brightened up when I mentioned the waitresses in the Han in his town. He cited this as one more of the blessings introduced by the Ghazi, and, as regards the gramophone, added that the younger generation had quite given up their old games and had taken to dancing with great zest. I used to hate the old time "Inje Saz," but there was some fun to be got out of trying to work out an air to it, now the damnable reiteration of "Valencia" alternating with "Yes, Sir, That's my Baby" made me thankful that I was not very musical.

Another form of progress is the making of parks and boulevards, which one sees everywhere even in the smallest towns. One would think that it would be possible to provide these admirable institutions without much unnecessary destruction, and in these days of monetary stringency it would be as well to ensure that funds for completion of such works were available before they were started. The boulevard "Ghazi Pasha," commenced at Trebizond two years ago, was driven through part of the Greek quarter and a large number of the best buildings in the town were destroyed, but that is all that has been accomplished, funds are not available for its completion, and it is now a dumping ground for city garbage. At Sivas a park is to be constructed with a new Konak for the Vali, and in order that the Vali may have a clear view from his windows, a masjid, which is a fine example of Seljuk architecture, is to be destroyed and also the Ottoman Bank buildings. But since funds are not available for building material, the park remains a desolate waste of blocks of stone and rubble, and has been so for eight months.

6. The Kaimakam of Eudenos stated that a good number of the Turks from Greece were being settled in his district, and were being given land abandoned by the Greeks. He did not think that they were an addition to the country, because they were not as hardworking as the Anatolian Turks. They did not like cultivation and were inclined to come into the towns. He hoped that in time they would settle down to work as there was nothing else for them to do. His opinion of these men was confirmed by a doctor of Karaman, who, when we were talking about the immense stretches of ground between Karaman and Konia, which appeared totally uninhabited, remarked what a pity it was that the refugees from Greece were such a lazy lot, for there was lots of land there for them which, if they would work it, would make both themselves and Turkey rich. However, they would not stay on the land but drifted into the towns, where they begged and were generally a nuisance.

My host of Ekin Euzu has a slightly different story. He said that when the Greeks were going the villagers bought up their land in due form and obtained all the necessary Government papers and paid all the requisite fees. Now the Government, or, as he put it, "this Kemal," was taking away the land which they had bought and was giving it to the refugees without paying them any compensation. The refugees could not do anything with the land when they had it, and it was all the best irrigated land.

Incidentally, they had no quarrel with the Greeks, on the contrary, they were good neighbours and used to bring to their doors the little luxuries of life, now they had to go 20 or 30 miles to the nearest town for them.

7. I was unable to get any official pronouncement as to how things were going on in Kurdistan. When I expressed a hope of being allowed to visit Diarbekir next year all I got was either the pious Inshallah, or a doubtful smile. The ordinary civilian of places like Gurushkhaneh, Kara Hissar, Antab and Marash, when talking about Kurdistan refers to the Kurdish frontier and the Kurdish war.

I saw three separate convoys of Kurds in process of transportation. The first was between Nigde and Develi Kara Hissar, it consisted of three men with about 100 women and children. Their goods and chattels were piled on bullock waggons, most of them were walking, with one or two of the old women riding on donkeys or in the carts, and they were escorted by gendarmes. The second, nearer the end of the march, was between Karaman and Konia; it was pointed out to me from the train by the doctor mentioned in paragraph 6, and was about 300 strong. Lastly, at Chumrah, near Konia, there was a camp of about 600. I remarked to a station hand that there were a lot of gipsies about, and he corrected me, saying that they were transported Kurds. At Chumrah, also in camp, was about a battalion of infantry and half a company of engineers. They, according to the station hand, arrived about a fortnight earlier, and were there to guard the Kurds.

Those in the convoy seen on the road seemed fairly cheerful, and although the gendarmes looked on when I got into conversation with one of the men they did not appear to be unduly driven, nor as if they were being treated as the Armenian deportees were treated. The rich lands of the Karamanian plain definitely require repopulating, and this is as good a way of doing it as any, with the added advantage of putting a troublesome section of the community where they can be easily looked after and brought into line with the rest of the republic.

8. The old customs die slowly in spite of the modernising efforts of the powers that be at Angora. With the exception of what are after all very superficial innovations, such as the waitress and the dancing craze, the writ of Angora does not carry far. Women still carefully veil themselves when a man approaches; the time is still calculated from sunset in two periods of twelve hours, even the officials using this method, the blessing of God is constantly evoked for salutations and before expressions of opinion or intention, religion still plays a large part in the lives of the people, and, fortunately for the traveller, the old hospitality is still very much a trait of the people.

E 3355/257/44] No. 20

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 2.)

(No. 401.)

Sir, *Therapia, July 27, 1927.*

IN continuation of my despatch No. 380 of the 20th instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith copies of reports drawn up by His Majesty's consuls at Mersina, Smyrna and Trebizond on the interests of various foreign Powers in their districts. The conclusions to be drawn from these reports are as follows:

2. Commercial interests are almost everywhere suffering from the effects of Turkish Nationalist legislation. Heavy taxation has crippled production, the expulsion of Greeks and Armenians and the reservation of local services to Turkish subjects has thrown collection and distribution into disorder. Constant new regulations and incessant irritating interference on the part of the authorities have reduced foreign business houses almost to despair. Italy alone can boast of some success, thanks largely to a favourable exchange rate and a readiness to sacrifice the material gains of commerce to its political advantages. But if Italian commercial interests in the Cilician area are being successfully pushed forward, French interests are correspondingly declining. Germans, Czechs and Americans enjoy a certain amount of trade in cheap machinery and cars, and the lucrative tobacco trade of the Black Sea coast is largely in the hands of the last.

3. The educational and cultural interests of foreign Powers are at a still lower ebb. Foreign schools are recognised by the Turkish authorities if they existed before November 1914, but they may no longer be used for religious instruction of any sort, and are obliged to accept Turkish teachers of history and geography and to sacrifice their curriculum to a fixed number of hours of Turkish every day. The American missions in Cilicia are obliged to replace their former dispensation of spiritual instruction by a perhaps more beneficial and certainly more useful distribution of modern machines, and those schools which were formerly attached to French mission stations throughout Anatolia have perforce been closed with the Turkisation of education in Turkey.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure 1 in No. 20.

Consul Chafy to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 18.)

Sir, *Mersina, June 9, 1927.*

I HAVE the honour to report as follows on foreign interests in this district in completion of the observations on the same subject contained in my despatch of the 3rd July last.

Italy.

2. As already mentioned in the above and subsequent reports, Italy plays the leading rôle here, in some respects that of Germany before the war. But while my Italian colleague and his compatriots make little secret of their country's aspirations in this part of Turkey, and all regard the Turks as incorrigible barbarians, I am satisfied that Italy's activities here are at present perfectly peaceful and correct and confined to commercial and industrial penetration. My colleague is proud of stating that his colony numbers upwards of 300. The bulk of these are Levantines who have been established in the country for some time: merchants, shipping and commission agents, bank employees, mechanics, artificers, &c. I do not think that any Italians are being encouraged to come and settle here or are doing so. The Turks are not unnaturally afraid of the Italians and of the geographical position of Rhodes, on which an invading armada might be poised. I have reported the scare that was caused in the spring of 1926, when the master of a British [illegible] was [illegible] to [illegible] shore. Incidents would be easy to provoke. Not so long ago an Italian bank clerk in Mersina was roughly treated by the Turkish municipal engineer with whom he had had a misunderstanding, and only the other day a seaman in an Italian ship was on the point of

being arrested for spitting and trampling on the Turkish red ensign, which it was his duty to hoist when in harbour. With the possession of Trieste, Italy now holds the foremost place in the foreign trade of this region. Italian shipping, carried on by the Lloyd Triestino and Servizi Marittimi lines, based on Trieste and Genoa respectively, is the most numerous. Out of a total of 323 foreign steamships which entered and cleared in the foreign trade of the port of Mersina during the year 1926, 156 were Italian, as against 82 British, 26 French, 17 Jugoslav, 12 German and 12 Greek. The Italian steamers, which carry passengers and cargo, are the largest used in the trade here, and are very well appointed and efficiently managed. They are certainly being run at a loss, but are backed by Government subsidies. Italy does the bulk of the insurance business down here and is active in all branches of commerce. I have already reported to the Department of Overseas Trade on the establishment of the "Sicmat" (Società Italiana Commercio Materie Tessili). This very wealthy and powerful firm, with a capital of 60 million lire, in conjunction of the 100 year-old house of Figli di Jacob Brunner of Trieste, if not directly subsidised by the Italian Government, has certainly received substantial assistance from it in the form of compensation for war damage or of loans, and there is no doubt that it is warmly encouraged by it in its operations here. Agents of the "Sicmat" first came on the scene in Cilicia in 1924, and the company now has establishments at Mersina, Tarsus and Adana as well as Aleppo. It has a personnel of Italian nationality of a superior and well paid type, has rented a large and comfortable house for its managers at Mersina and goes everything on a handsome scale. The company operates cotton-ginning mills at Tarsus and Adana and engages in cotton operations and exports on a large scale, as well as importing Italian machinery, motor-cars and other manufactured goods. It is not thought that the "Sicmat" is yet making a profit here, in it is said to encounter difficulties and obstructions, but it can well afford to lose and wait. It may be described as the spear-head of Italian economic penetration in this region. I have already reported on my Italian colleague, Consul-General Mochi, and his two career subordinates, Principe Ludovico Boncompagni Ludovisi, vice-consul at Adana, and Carlo Alberto de Vera d'Aragona dei Duchi di Alvito, vice-consul at Adalia. My colleague is as active as ever and continually travels about his large district which now extends to the borders of Iraq. He has just moved to a more imposing residence, situated conspicuously on the sea front, and erected a very tall flagstaff higher than any other in the place and visible far out at sea. He is throwing open a large room in his house for the use of his colony as a reading room and meeting place. Signor Mochi, I need not say, is deeply suspect to the Turks and his house and movements are closely spied on. The Italian element here is certainly the most civilised and refined.

France

3. Excluding Syrian *proteges*, the French colony in this district is probably less than a hundred. There are branches of the Banque Française des Pays d'Orient at Mersina and Adana, and the French have the direction of the Yenidjé Mersina-Aleppo section of the railway. The Adana branch of the French department store of Orosdi Back, a kind of Near Eastern Harrods, the only European shop in the place, was lately burnt down, and its *succursale* at Mersina is being closed in consequence. The one French-exploited cotton mill at Adana was leased last year to the "Sicmat," which seems likely to take it over altogether. French shipping, which connects with main lines from Beirut, is on the decrease here, and the Messageries Maritimes Company have suppressed their Mersina agency, which was formerly held by a Frenchman, and appointed a Turk as "correspondent." They are selling the large premises which they own. France buys a certain amount of Adana cotton, but her trade here is not of great importance. The French missions schools and dispensaries are closed down at Mersina, Adana and Konia, and left in charge of one or two fathers and sisters. The French church at Mersina is still open and regularly attended by my French and Italian colleagues, as well as by a fairly large congregation of local Syrians. The foreign French which all the educated local Christians here speak as a second language to Arabic has been interrupted, and the Syrian Christians as well as some Turks now send their children to school in Syria. My French colleague, M. Rouillard, resides in the empty French mission building at Adana, which he considers the point most appropriately situated in regard to the Syrian frontier, along which his district extends to the Iraq border.

A vice-consul is dependent on him at Mersina. Apart from the frontier, M. Rouillard's chief concern at present is the vexed question of the opting for Syrian nationality of local Christians of Syrian origin, at least 1,200 of whom are expected to leave the country. On the whole, French interests and influence here are on the wane. The French are not popular, and they left a very bad impression from their occupation of Cilicia. The more I hear about it the more disastrous it appears to have been. Their administrators seem to have made every conceivable mistake; their troops were disliked, and they will never be forgiven for letting loose their Armenian Legion to wreak their vengeance on the slayers of the relatives and compatriots during the various Adana massacres. Again and again I have been told by people on the spot that so long as the British were in occupation here everything was perfectly peaceful, but that the instant they turned their backs the whole place was involved in guerilla fighting and trouble. There is close contact between this region and Syria and Palestine, and the contrast between the French and British administration of those respective territories is glaringly apparent to the simplest Turk, who draws his own conclusions very much in our favour.

Germany

4. Germany is active in trade here. Twelve German steamers, mostly of the Deutsch-Levante Linie, entered and cleared last year, bringing upwards of 1,000 tons of metals, agricultural and other machinery, hardware, textiles and manufactured goods from Germany. A number of Germans, partly previous residents in the country, are engaged in trade, industry, engineering and a good many other useful capacities in this region. There are probably forty or fifty Germans in Mersina and Adana and a certain number scattered about up country. Some time ago I heard that they were petitioning for a consul, and now I am told, though not yet officially, that a German consular agent is to be appointed in the person of the Deutsch Levante Linie's agent. This gentleman is a Syrian, and another young, active or intelligent. If the news is true, I am rather surprised that a better choice has not been made. Though the Germans are not better treated in the matter of police and other restrictions than other foreigners, the Turks from their former association with them, appreciate their usefulness. Not being afraid of rough conditions and hard work, they seem to fit conveniently into the present scheme of things, and, judging by the number of wandering Germans of quite a superior type who find their way down the railway line in search of employment, their colony seems likely to increase.

United States.

5. Before the war there was a career United States consul at Mersina, and it is presumed that another will be appointed when Turco-American relations are again normal. The United States does a considerable amount of business here, especially in motor-cars, tractors and agricultural machinery and the products of the Standard and Vacuum Oil Companies. Her exports from Mersina are chiefly wool. One American cotton-ginning mill was started in Adana last year, but proved a failure. There are no other American establishments in this district except the American missions. These were always on a large scale and distributed over a wide area at Mersina, Tarsus, Adana, Antab, Marash, Tabas, &c. Except for the school and hospital at Mersina, most of them are partially working again, and the missionaries at Adana and Tarsus alone number thirty or more with their families. They do a great deal of good with their hospitals and dispensaries, which are the only decent ones in this part of Turkey. Their schools, of course, spread the knowledge of English. The pupils in these schools, which are now subject to Turkish control and have to collaborate with the Turkish educational authorities in including Turkish teachers and a Turkish curriculum, are now, of course, Turkish children, with, in Tarsus and Adana, a large number whose origin is Syrian Moslem and whose mother language is Arabic (kept prudently in the background). The American missions have to contend with constant difficulties with the authorities, on medical patients and parents of pupils, some of whom are local notables appreciate their practical utility. All religious teaching is taboo, but it is amusing to notice the little subterfuges under which these worthy Americans pursue their calling. I asked the head of the college at Tarsus how he dared to placard its entrance with the text in Arabic "Let there be light." "Oh," he said, "the electric light company" (whose eccentricities constantly plunge the class rooms in

darkness) "will take that as our little joke—if they can read it." I fancy that the Arabic language is not the only cover under which the missionaries slip in a bit of preaching.

Greece

6. Mersina had a very large and wealthy Greek colony before the war, but now there are only a few individuals left. All Greek schools, churches and other institutions have long been closed down. There is some Greek shipping, and the Greek consul-general, who is here to wind up Greek properties and affairs, tells me that when he goes he thinks his country will still be represented by a consul.

Soviet Russia

7. Arcos have had their agents buying cotton at Mersina for the last two seasons. This last season they bought up and exported to Russia 25,610 out of the total Cilician cotton crop of 61,266 bales, being far the biggest buyers. The Russian Naphtha Syndicate are also the biggest suppliers of benzine and kerosene on this market. Their agent is a Russian with a foreign passport, who seems to be "White." The Arcos agents are Red, and a friend of mine said that he had seen propaganda matter in their possession printed in the Turkish of Turkestan, but I do not believe that they are given the opportunity of doing any harm here or that there is any Communist influence in this region. Besides these business agents, there are hardly any Russians in Mersina or Adana, and rules against even White Russians coming here are very strict.

Other Foreign Consuls

8. A Spanish career consul was here till lately but has now gone, leaving the consulate in charge of a dragoman. Spain has no colony or interests here and is not likely to appoint another consul. An honorary Belgian consulate was closed down a year ago. There are no other foreign consulates in this district.

I have, &c.
R. E. W. CHAFY.

Enclosure 2 in No. 20.

Report by Consular Officer at Smyrna.

THE foreign element in the population of Asia Minor is appreciably smaller since the war. Under the republican régime living has been systematically made more difficult for the foreign minorities. In the town of Smyrna all the foreign colonies are smaller than they were in 1914. This is particularly so in the case of the Italian colony.

2. The interests of foreign nations in this district are still considerable. In general there is little change in the nature of the respective interests of the various countries.

3. Possible guidance as to the relative importance of those interests may be gathered from the consular representation in Smyrna. The Italian Government maintains a consul-general and a career vice-consul with a large staff of clerks. There have been various changes in the last few years. It is the only consulate-general in Smyrna which works at high pressure throughout the year. The French consulate-general is similarly staffed. The present consul-general is an orientalist of long experience. He has been at this post since October 1924. Germany is represented by a consul-general, who was formerly head of the Oriental Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Berlin. He has also been in Smyrna since 1924. His staff now consists of an interpreter and three clerks. The vice-consul has not been replaced since July 1926. The Greek consulate-general has for some three or four months been in charge of a vice-consul of very few years' experience. There had previously been four changes in the holder of the post in about eighteen months. The Soviet Government is also represented by a consul-general and a career vice-consul with a staff of three clerks. The present consul-general came to this post last year from Trebizond. Other countries who maintain a consul-general in Smyrna are Holland, Belgium and Persia.

4. The only other career consular officers in Smyrna are the Czechoslovak consul and the Egyptian consul. An honorary consul is in charge of the interests of the Argentine and a local French citizen is consul for Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

5. Swiss interests were until recently looked after by the French, Italian and German consulates-general jointly, and Bulgarian interests by the Dutch consulate-general. Since the appointment of representatives in Constantinople these interests have been handed over.

6. The Dutch Government still looks after Austrian, Hungarian, Rumanian and Mexican interests. The French Government is in charge of Jugoslav, Polish and Spanish interests in Smyrna. The United States delegation consists of a career consul-general and a career vice-consul with a large staff of interpreters and clerks.

7. There are only two foreign chambers of commerce now functioning in Smyrna. The French Chamber of Commerce has 94 associated members, of whom 26 are in Smyrna, 58 in France and 10 in other parts of Europe, Greece and the Balkan countries. The members of the chamber in Smyrna are all French citizens or commercial organisations. They include 14 commission agents, 8 wholesale merchants, 6 retail merchants, 6 banking establishments, 4 building contractors, 4 shipping agents and 3 insurance agents.

8. The most important of these concerns are the various associations controlled by the Giuffray brothers, a local family of Marseilles origin, such as the Banque Française des Pays d'Orient, Société française de l'Est européen (general trading company), Compagnie industrielle du Levant (cotton spinners), Société des Quais de Smyrne (quay concessionnaires and tram company), Agence maritime de Smyrne (Messageries maritimes agency). An important interest in the chamber of commerce is also held by the Girand brothers, a family also of Marseilles origin, closely connected both by descent, marriage and business relations with Messrs. Whittall and Co. The partners of Messrs. G. J. Girand and Co. have a controlling interest in the Société anonyme turque d'Industrie et de Commerce, which handles a large part of the trade between Russia and Smyrna, in the Valex Factory and in the Oriental Carpet Manufacturers (Limited), a British company with ramifications in Persia, India and China.

9. The Italian Chamber of Commerce has 141 associated members in Italy of whom about a quarter are cotton manufacturers. The membership of the chamber in Smyrna includes 27 commission agents, 22 retail merchants, 13 wholesale merchants, 12 shipping agents, 5 insurance agents, 5 building contractors and 5 banking establishments. With the possible exception of Messrs. Aliotti Fratelli, a large exporting firm, none of these members are individually of any great importance or influence.

10. The Turkish Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie de Smyrne is an organisation backed by the full force of the Government which serves as a commercial intelligence bureau, and as such works in close touch with other Government Departments. All firms are bound by law to be registered members and to supply statistical information to this organisation. It is a cause of complaint with many foreign firms that information given is improperly used, communicated to the press or to unauthorised persons, and that membership is of little advantage to foreign firms.

11. The relations of this body with foreign consular representatives are usually friendly, and information supplied has not in the experience of the writer been partial, nor have the names of foreign firms been excluded when lists have been asked for.

12. The British Chamber of Commerce has not been revived since the Great War.

13. The relative value of the trade of the various countries is given by the chamber of commerce as follows for 1926 and for 1925:

	(Smyrna Economic Zone) 1926, Jan.–Nov. £T	(Port of Smyrna only) 1925. £T
Imports—		
Italy	6,527,683	8,986,834
United Kingdom	4,991,280	7,100,561
France	4,080,771	3,640,639
Czechoslovakia	2,635,221	1,080,047
Germany	2,192,567	2,331,864
Belgium	1,768,550	2,655,338

Imports (*continued*)—	(Smyrna Economic Zone) 1926. Jan.–Nov. £T	(Port of Smyrna only) 1925. £T
Roumania	1 130.021	967,991
India	989,299	1,445,418
Holland	850,869	1,263,247
Japan	765.211	304,221
United States	666 011	1,403,063
Russia	595 569	537,574
Austria	460,426	522,639
Syria	414,303	483,035
Egypt	291,933	1,587,632
Greece	259,092	442,703
Switzerland	220,400	63,354
Jugoslavia	146,715	18,081
Hungary	116 802	104,657
Iraq	60,031	7,123
Poland	54,680	1,853
Sweden	38,940	26,187
Persia	20,156	9,820
Spain	12,338	49,748
Bulgaria	2,378	5,890

These figures seem to show a diminution in purchases from Italy, the United Kingdom, the United States and Belgium, but a large increase in trade with Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Japan.

Exports—	(Smyrna Economic Zone) 1926. Jan.–Nov. £T	(Smyrna Economic Zone) 1925. £T
Italy	17,101,422	23,595,855
United States	13 382 506	10,341 752
United Kingdom	10,702,471	11,475,140
Germany	8,697,783	10,864,819
France	5,146,358	4,419,117
Holland	2,984,757	3,704,576
Egypt	1,192,227	1,587,632
Russia	982,058	1,030,674
Belgium	807,515	2,271,407
Greece	462 473	3,209,927
Syria	355,839	705,119
Roumania	278,435	242 863
Austria	113,806	1,989
Japan	90 336	21,875
Bulgaria	79,487	183 337

14. Statistics for the port of Smyrna only during 1926 show the buyers of Turkish products in the same relative order of importance.

15. By far the largest share of the foreign carrying trade of Smyrna is in the hands of the Italians and the British. The tonnage of vessels calling at Smyrna from 1923–26 was as follows:

	1923	1924	1925
Italian	484,311	529 270	610,830
British	374,186	604,472	576,062
Total tonnage (including Turkish) ...	1,399,231	1,795,923	1,983,944

16. Regular services calling at Smyrna are maintained by—

Kwantung Mail Steamship Company (British): Alexandria and Greek ports.
Lloyd Triestino (Italian): Trieste, Italian and Greek ports, continuing to Syria or Black Sea.
Servizi Marittimi (Italian): Genoa, Eastern Mediterranean, returning via Marseilles.
Messageries maritimes (French): Marseilles, Naples, Eastern Mediterranean.
Societe Puglia (Italian): Italian and Greek ports, continuing to Egypt.
Fabre Line (French): Marseilles Eastern Mediterranean New York.
Various small Greek vessels: Piræus and Salonica.

Cargo vessels calling at Smyrna, particularly during the fruit shipping season, are—

Agency.	*Name of Company or Owners.*
Olivier and Co. (Franco-British)	Ellerman Lines.
	General Steam Navigation Company.
	Furness, Withy and Co. (for imports).
	Deutsch Levante Linie (German) (for imports).
T. Bowen Rees and Co. (British)	Cunard Steamship Company.
	America Levant Line.
	Egypt-Levant Line.
	Swedish Orient Line (Swedish).
Continental Shipping Agency (Henri Sporco and Co.)	Italian Lloyd Royale Belge (Belgian).
	Royal Dutch Steamship Company (Dutch).
	Navigazione Libera Triestina (Italian).
	Various German and Scandinavian vessels.
W. F. Van der Zee (Dutch)...	Deutsch-Levante Linie (exports) (German).
	Fabre Line (French).
	American Export Line (United States).
	Furness, Withy and Co. (export).
	Royal Dutch Steamship Company (export) (Dutch).
	Fraissinet et Cie (French).
	Various Norwegian vessels (*i.e.*, Royal Belge-Argentine (Belgian).
C. Whittall and Co. (British)	Moss Steamship Company.
	Cairus, Noble and Co.
John Persich (German) ...	Various Greek lines.
Jerome Punch (German) ..	Deutsche Orient Line (German).
	Oceania Steamship Company (Jugoslav).
Abdi Valöi (Turk)	Flotte commerciale zonguique.

17. The following are the principal trade interests of various countries, according to the latest available statistics:

Albania—
Buys small quantities of carpets.

Argentine—
Sends hides to Turkey.

Australia—
In 1925 supplied wheat and flour to Turkey. Buys figs, valonia, raisins, opium, &c.

Austria—
Supplies glassware, sacks, hardware, textiles, &c. Buys various products of the country.

Belgium—
Supplies hardware, textiles, glass and various manufactured articles. In 1925 was the principal source of supply for glassware, matches, silk goods and cigars. Buys cotton seed, dried fruits, tobacco, &c. After the United Kingdom, Belgium is the most important market for barley.

Brazil—
Buys valonia and supplies pumpkin seeds, hats and fancy goods in small quantities.

Canada—
Buys figs, carpets and pine kernels.

China—
Supplies tea and hides, mostly via Egypt.

Cyprus—
Supplies plaster.

Czechoslovakia—
Supplies (1925) textiles, sugar, sacks and canvas, glassware, hardware, fancy goods, cement, furniture, chemicals and electrical supplies. Formerly the principal source of supply for fezzes. Imports figs and raisins from Smyrna.

Denmark—
Buys carpets and figs. Supplies butter

Egypt—
Is the principal market for pine kernels, native textiles, fresh fruit and dried fruits other than figs and raisins. Also buys other products of the country. In 1925 was the leading supplier of pumpkin seeds, rice, hides, tumbeki, spices, henna and dates.

France—
The principal source of supply (1925) of dressed hides, rubber articles, bricks and tiles, instruments, plaster, bicycles, linoleums, wines, soap, flour, grindstones, animal oils, mineral waters and potatoes. The largest volume of trade is in textiles, hides and hardware. Imports from Smyrna include opium, cotton, horse-beans, olive oil, scrap iron, [illegible] skins and gallnuts, of all of which France was the chief buyer in 1926.

Germany—
The chief source of supply (1925) for chemicals, pottery, paints and colours, gas and water meters and chemical manures. The articles chiefly exported to Smyrna were hardware, sugar, textiles, machinery and chemicals. Germany in 1926 was the principal market for valonia, wax, almonds and fig refuse and a large buyer of tobacco and raisins.

Greece—
An important buyer of woollen yarns, mohair, cotton, beans, sesame and other produce, especially from the Aivaly district. Greece supplies (1925) sheep, olives, straw mats, mastic, horses, chestnuts and cattle.

Holland—
Imports tobacco, opium, carpets and valonia. Supplies (1925) sugar, hardware, coffee, textiles, paper and various manufactured articles. Is the leading source of supply of paper, vegetable oils and textiles.

Hungary—
Supplied chemicals and agricultural implements in 1925 and imports small quantities of opium and other products.

India—
According to the Chamber of Commerce statistics, is the principal supplier of wheat and tea. Also supplies fancy articles, textiles, jute goods and raw hides. Buys very little through Smyrna.

Iraq—
Exported dried fruits to Smyrna in 1925.

Italy—
The largest supplier of textiles, fancy goods, coffee, sugar, ropes, sulphur, hats, oranges and lemons, cement, furniture, preserved meats, jams, corn products, chocolate, cotton, donkeys, mules, barrels and candles. Is a very large importer of tobacco, of which the greater part is again shipped from Trieste. Also buys raisins, cotton, hides, figs, valonia and most other products of Anatolia.

Japan—
Supplied textiles, fancy goods, also porcelain in 1925. Two Japanese commercial delegates visited Smyrna in January 1927. They were particularly interested in the cotton-spinning factory. They also made close enquiries into the export of opium, valonia, cotton, barley and figs. An exhibition of Japanese manufactures was arranged at the Chamber of Commerce. It included mirrors, brushes, fans, umbrellas. Later a Turkish agent was appointed.

Jugoslavia—
Supplied cement and textiles in 1925.

Mexico—
Buys carpets and liquorice root.

Norway—
Supplies salted fish and timber.

Palestine
Exports oranges and imports native textiles, sesame, beans, &c., from Smyrna.

Persia—
Exports carpets and tumbeki.

Poland—
Exports textile goods. Bought small quantities of opium in 1926.

Roumania—
Bought tobacco, mineral ores and raisins in 1926. Chief source of supply of benzine, mineral oils, timber, cheese, zinc and honey.

Russia—
A large buyer of cotton, valonia and valonia refuse, cotton yarn, figs and sesame.

Spain—
Buys cheese, honey and figs, and supplies chemicals and textiles.

Sweden—
Buys tobacco and figs, and supplies chocolate [?], hardware, chemicals and timber.

Switzerland—
Chief supplier of watches, leather goods and tinned milk. Imports figs, raisins, halva, preserved fruits and pumpkin seeds.

Syria—
Supplies butter and fruit and various native products. Buys barley, valonia and pine kernels.

United Kingdom—
The principal buyer of raisins, barley, cotton seed, skins, millet, [illegible] and liquorice paste. Also a large buyer of carpets, valonia, opium, horse-beans, figs and mercury. England is the chief source of supply of woollen goods, yarns, coal, sacks, dried fish, musical instruments, biscuits, machinery, and comes second on the list for cotton goods, hardware, fancy goods, raw hides, ropes, bicycles and oilcloth.

United States of America—
The chief source of supply of motor-cars, tractors, agricultural implements (hand-ploughs, harvesting machines, cotton-planting and ginning machines), typewriters, starch. Also sells dressed hides, sugar, coffee, mineral oils, textiles, machinery, hardware, &c. A big market for tobacco, figs, raisins, carpets and most Anatolian produce. Is the chief buyer of carpets, tobacco and figs. The United States Government keep a close watch on fig packing. An advisory fruit board under the chairmanship of a United States consular official, consisting of various Turkish doctors and a European biological expert, pass all figs before export to the United States of America. Officials from the consulate make constant inspections of the packing sheds and supervise the carrying out of the municipal sanitary regulations. The Ford car is by far the most extensively used in Asia Minor.

18. The following are the principal firms or companies under foreign control established in Smyrna:—

Belgian—
Société des Eaux de Smyrne, Société d'Électricité de Smyrne (new concessions for electric trams and electric lighting), Fumaro Tobacco Company, "Anatolia" Comptoir commercial belge (commission agency), "Socobel" Société belge de Pétrole (not actually working). A Belgian engineer is in charge of the cotton spinning factory belonging to the Compagnie industrielle du Levant. A Belgian engineer has been in charge of drainage in connection with the rebuilding of Nazli.

Czechoslovak—
Moise, Crespin and Co. (commission agency).

Egyptian—
Agency of Khedivial Mail Steamship Company (British company established in Alexandria).

French—

Société du Chemin de Fer Smyrne–Cassaba et Prolongement.
Banque française des Pays d'Orient
Société française de l'Est européen
Compagnie industrielle du Levant
Société des Quais de Smyrne
} Controlled by Guiffray Frères.
Etablissements Orosdi Back
Banque de Salonique.
Messageries maritimes (branch office closed on the 1st April, 1927, and agency given to Guiffray Frères).
Banque ottomane (Franco-British).
Société industrielle de Smyrne (general trading company).
Compagnie française du Levant (building contractors) working in conjunction with a Turkish company known as the Société anonyme turque pour la Reconstruction de Smyrne et Environs, with which several members of the Municipal Council are connected.

German—

Deutsche Orient Bank.
Pusich Shipping Agency (Laster, Siberman and Co.).
A German contractor is erecting the new building of the Deutsche Bank. There is also a German engineer in charge of the proposed drainage scheme in the reconstructed area. He has already erected factories at Ushaq and at Koula, and has built concrete bridges in the Hermus Valley. There are also several other German architects and engineers. Hungarian and Bulgarian workmen are employed on road construction and building. There are mining interests in the Makri district of Southern Anatolia in which a German syndicate is said to be involved. The Krupp concessions near Brussa are not being worked.

Dutch—

"Tabacos" Tobacco Company.
Van der Zee Shipping Agency (a Dutch company with offices in various Near East ports). A Dutch syndicate is said to have acquired prospecting rights for petroleum in this neighbourhood, but has not commenced operations.

Italian—

Banco di Roma.
Lloyd Triestino Agency.
The whole of the large trade with Italy is conducted through local agents.

Roumanian—

Steaua Romanului Company.

Russian—

Naphthasyndikat Agency.
Arcos, Limited (British).
"Inkichef" Steamship Agency (Flotte commerciale soviétique).

Swedish

Société des Téléphones de Smyrne (Ericsson and Co.), concessionaires for the installation of automatic telephones.

Swiss—

Hochstrasser and Co. (merchants).
Nestlé Agency (a local agent).
Société générale de Surveillance (insurance).
Société des Abattoirs de Smyrne (a Turkish company with a Swiss engineer in charge of the new installations).

British—

Ottoman Aidin Railway Company.
Ottoman Bank (Franco-British).
Abbott's Fishery Marks.
Smyrna Egg Packers, Limited.
Oriental Carpet Manufacturers.
Eastern Carpets, Limited.
} Local British concerns.
Ottoman Gas Company.
Asiatic Petroleum Company (agency—not working at present).

Russell and Co. (British firm of chartered accountants established at Alexandria).
There are English engineers in charge of the cloth factory and the cotton yarn factory which are run in connection with the Oriental Carpet Manufacturers.
There is an English engineer at the Chimlikaya antimony mine, near Odemish, which is being worked on behalf of Messrs. Cookson and Sons of Newcastle-on-Tyne. He has an English assistant.

United States—

Gary Tobacco Company.
Alston Tobacco Company.
American Tobacco Company (Trieste), Limited.
Mayer and Co. (tobacco).
Glenn Tobacco Company.
Ford Agency (a local agent).
Standard Oil Company of New York.
Macandrews and Forbes Company (liquorice).
Singer Agency (a local agent).
Macandrews and Forbes Company has branches at Sokia and Aidin, Nazli, Sokia, Menemen and Alashehir (temporarily in charge of a Turk), each one of which is in charge of a Scotch engineer. The general manager is also Scotch.

19. A large amount of space has been devoted to commercial interests as they are probably the most important under recent conditions in Turkey.

20. Facilities for the instruction of foreign languages in foreign schools largely exist owing to the size of the foreign colonies. They are of considerable importance as the means of spreading the knowledge of French or English but under present conditions foreign institutions are shorn of the greater part of their opportunities for national or religious propaganda.

21. French cultural interests are encouraged by the various ecclesiastical and educational institutions in the Smyrna district. The Roman Catholic cathedral, the Church of St. Polycarpe, and churches at Boudja, Bournabat, Cordelio, Bairakli and Gueuztépé are under the control of priests of French nationality who officiate in the French language.

22. The Archbishop of Smyrna is an Italian subject. In this connection it is interesting to note that there have been lengthy and acrimonious discussions before the Inter-Allied Claims Commission as to what constitute Italian and what French interests in various of the destroyed properties which come under the jurisdiction of the archbishopric. The present archbishop has endeavoured to have all such properties treated as being Italian.

23. There are also French schools:

Frères des Ecoles chrétiennes: The Point, 236 boys.
Frères des Ecoles chrétiennes: Cordelio, 110 boys.
Sœurs de St. Joseph: Cordelio, 75 girls.
Dames de Sion: Cordelio, 200 girls.
Sœurs de St. Vincent de Paul: Boudja, 87 girls.
Sœurs de St. Vincent de Paul: Bournabat, 78 girls.
Sœurs de St. Vincent de Paul: Koula (orphanage), 67 infants.
Hôpital français: Smyrna, 145 girls.

The hospital also maintains twenty-four beds for paying patients.

24. Italian interests are more restricted in so far as the use of the Italian language is concerned. The archbishop and several members of his staff are Italian subjects. There is a Dominican parish church in Smyrna and a smaller church of Ste. Marie, where the priests officiate partly in Italian. The Capuchin monks also have a chapel at Boudja. The Italian schools are:—

Ecole salésienne: Smyrna, 130 boys.
Sœurs d'Ivrea: Smyrna (2), 285 girls.
Sœurs d'Ivrea: Gueuztépé, 176 girls.
Sœurs d'Ivrea: Bairakli, 56 girls.

The Ospedale San Antonio, at present established in the former British Seamen's Hospital, is maintained by local Catholic interests irrespective of nationality. It

was formerly under Austrian control, but is now considered to be an Italian institution. Most of the sisters who work there and the principal physician are Italian subjects. There are twenty-four beds. A poorhouse is also maintained for indigent Roman Catholic women.

25. The only other foreign schools are the International College, Kizil Choullou, which was formerly maintained by the American Missions Board of Boston. Since it ceased to be a missionary organisation, it has been endowed and has its own funds, though the principal is still paid by the Missions Board. Details of this institution were given under Education. This school claims to have been of great assistance to the Turkish Agricultural College and has taken a leading part in the organisation of athletics and sport.

26. The American Girls' College at Gueuztépé is a similar institution, formerly exclusively for the benefit of Armenians and Greeks. After their departure in 1922 the school was transferred to Greece. The former directress is said to disclaim any connection with the present school, which was re-opened in its former premises in 1923. The college is independent of any other scholastic organisation in Turkey. A representative of the American Near East Relief has for some time been resident in Smyrna. He takes a great interest in the Turk Odjaghi and has contributed funds and supervised the improvements recently made in the stadium and football ground.

27. There is no English school at present in Smyrna. The present chaplain and one English lady give lessons in the English language.

28. The language most widely used for foreign commercial correspondence is English. Apart from the International College, where instruction is mainly in English, provision is made for the teaching of English in the Commercial School. Greek is still very widely spoken amongst the labouring and trading classes in Smyrna. It is in common use amongst boatmen and cab drivers and is almost universally understood in all the coast regions and even at Aidin and Ushaq. There is at present no school where it is taught.

29. Amongst Turks French is the best known foreign language. Its study is compulsory in all the higher schools. It is noteworthy that almost the only foreign novels and the greater part of the literature obtainable on any subject in the principal bookshops of Smyrna are French.

30. The Jewish Hospital and Jewish School are now under the control of Turkish subjects. There are said to be over 80,000 Jews in Smyrna, of whom a large number are now Turkish subjects. There are three Jewish synagogues in Smyrna.

31. There is one English doctor, two Italians, one Hellene and two formerly Hungarian, but now Turkish, subjects, also one French dentist.

32. There is a large Roman Catholic cemetery on the outskirts of Smyrna under the jurisdiction of the archbishop, and Protestant cemeteries belonging to the British, German and Dutch communities respectively. There is also an Armenian cemetery at present under the control of the American International College authorities. The former Greek cemetery has passed under the control of the Abandoned Goods Commission and is no longer in use.

33. The only Protestant churches at present in regular use are Anglican—namely, St. John's Church, Smyrna; St. Mary Magdalene's Church, Bournabat, and All Saints' Church, Boudja. British burial grounds are attached to the last two named. Occasional services are also held in German in the partly destroyed Dutch church in Smyrna.

34. During the last twelve months there have been two legal experts, provided for under the Treaty of Lausanne, residing in Smyrna. The first one was a Spanish subject. He was succeeded by a Dutchman in December last, and another Dutchman is on the point of taking over.

35. Greek interests are now solely connected with property questions. The Greek colony, apart from a few hundred "Catholics," numbers about ten persons. The exchange of population, so far as this district is concerned, is said to be completed.

36. Until early in this year the French Government had an aviation mission with two instructors attached to headquarters in Smyrna. They have now been withdrawn.

37. Archæological researches are being carried on by Sir William Ramsay at Antioch in-Pisidia, by a German Professor Wiegand, at Pergama; and by an Austrian Dr. Kiehl at Ephesus.

38. The ex-Khedive of Egypt has large properties in Southern Anatolia and business interests in Smyrna, with which the former chairman of the Smyrna

Chamber of Commerce, Mahmoud Bey, is said to be connected. The present Egyptian Government is supposed to be entirely unconnected with these interests.

39. Foreign propaganda in the local press is very small. The "Levant" is the only local paper published in the French language. Its tone is at times anti-British. Its chief editor, a Frenchman, certainly appears to have no personal sympathy for England. The paper is devoted chiefly to local news, scraps of foreign news supplied from Angora, and translations from the Governmental press. The remainder of the local press is Turkish. There appears to be no Communistic journal, and no attempt at Soviet Government propaganda.

Enclosure 3 in No. 20.

Consul Knight to Sir Austen Chamberlain.

(No. 20. Confidential.)

Sir,

Trebizond, June 30, 1927.

ONE of the first facts to strike an observant visitor to Trebizond must be the disproportion between the imposing array of foreign consuls on the one hand, and the comparative insignificance of foreign interests (your Excellency's despatch No. 13 of the 30th April) on the other. I am far from suggesting, however, that in this respect Trebizond differs to any marked extent from other Turkish provincial towns (apart from Constantinople and Smyrna) where consulates are to be found in considerable number. Indeed, once it has been decided that the presence of consuls outside those two important trade centres is desirable on general grounds, it would appear more or less immaterial in what locality they take up their abode, a central accessible and habitable situation being the essential, in the absence of any more urgent consideration, such as a numerous colony or important commercial relations.

2. To begin with the British interests in this consular district, there is the formerly important, and still potentially important, copper mine at Morgul, now, since the Treaty of Moscow (1921), in Turkish territory and the Vilayet of Artvin. This mine was worked extensively by the Caucasus Copper Company up to the beginning of the war, but has since been derelict owing, I understand, to the destruction of the plant and the obstructive attitude of the Turkish authorities. A Polish mining engineer is believed to be in charge on the spot, looking after the company's interests as best he can pending a decision as to the reopening of the mine. The copper, when the mine was on Russian territory, was exported from Batum, from which there was, and I believe still is, an excellent carriage road to Artvin, passing close to the mine; but the changed frontiers have resulted in Morgul, in common with all that, now Turkish, rich agricultural region, being cut off from its only port as effectually as if no such road existed. There has long been talk of a road being constructed from the small Turkish frontier port of Hoppeh to connect with the mine. This work was actually said to have been begun by the peasants themselves in anticipation of the mine reopening and their village becoming the natural outlet of a large and fertile district as well as the thriving contraband centre it has long been. This road construction is now understood to have been taken over by the vilayet authorities, whether with a greater or lesser chance of completion it is difficult to say. In this connection I have the honour to state that I have not yet had an opportunity of consulting the dossier on the subject of recent developments connected with the Morgul mine which I understand exists at His Majesty's Embassy, and I should be very grateful if copies of the more instructive papers, or extracts from them, could be forwarded to me for my information by the first suitable opportunity. I may perhaps mention here that Mr. Edmonds and I hope to tour that interesting part of my consular district in September, when I shall be able to report on questions concerning the mine of which I should then have some knowledge at first hand.

3. There are at the present time a number of other mines in this district and in the neighbourhood of Trebizond being worked by British capital, but hitherto on a very limited scale. The company concerned, which is known as Anatolian Minerals (Limited), of Broad Street House, Old Broad Street, E.C. 2, and has apparently satisfied the requirements of the Turkish mining laws, has for some months past been working a manganese mine situated one hour inland from Rizeh. (This is not to be

confused with another manganese mine just outside Rizeh, in which General Baird, Arif Pasha and the Lugansk Syndicate were until lately interested. The latter mine was closed down early this year, and there is no longer any British representative on the spot. It is understood that the ore was not in sufficient quantity to make it a profitable concern. There were also sundry disputes among the parties interested, on the rights and wrongs of which I have found it impossible, and indeed unnecessary, to form any judgment.) It may be doubted whether the mine now being exploited will prove any more profitable in the long run, but for the present the local representative of Anatolian Minerals (Limited) (Mr. J. W. Shawyer, who has recently been joined by a geologist son) and the miner in charge, named Richards, are most optimistic. This, the Hanes mine, as it is known from the name of the locality, is at present being worked by about sixty native Turkish or Laz labourers, men and women, and produces about a ton of ore per diem. The transport, by pack-horses to Rizeh, costs 7 liras per ton, but it is hoped to reduce this by two-thirds with motor transport when a road has been constructed. The same people, on the strength of "permis de recherche," have begun operations in the neighbourhood of the coast village of Herakli (manganese) near Surmeneh to the east, and at a spot five hours behind Sharli (silver-lead) to the west of Trebizond, also near Unieh (silver-lead) towards Samsun, and at one or two other places in the coastal region. They have, moreover, visions of opening or reopening mines in the interior at Gumush-Khaneh (silver); near Ispir, in the Chorruk Valley (copper); and at Maden Khan, in the Vilayet of Erzerum. No other British mining interests or projects exist to my knowledge in this consular district.

4. British trade, and indeed foreign trade in general, is in no more a flourishing state than when I arrived at Samsun and Trebizond at the beginning of 1925. Direct British trade is almost non existent owing to the total lack of through communications by sea, and British goods there are, such as textiles, tinned food stuffs and gramophones ("His Master's Voice"), are all but invariably purchased on the Constantinople market by agents or branches of the local firms. Even France and Italy, which maintain regular fortnightly steamship services by the Paquet and Servizi Marittimi companies respectively, bring steadily diminishing cargoes, and, since the abolition of the cabotage last year, do not even always find it worth while to call for return cargo on their way homeward journey from Batum. The exceptionally poor yield last year in all the staple products of the district, as well as the almost defunct transit trade to Persia via Trebizond, are chiefly responsible for this falling off in commercial activity. Turkish official stupidity may have lost the transit trade for good, but at least as regards crops, especially nuts and tobacco, the coming season is expected to make up very largely for last year's losses. Still, when all is said, it cannot be for actual profit but rather to show their flag and keep up a local connection in the hope of better days, that the two foreign countries maintaining regular services along this coast have not discontinued them long ago.

5. Where trade and commerce are at such a low ebb, it is not surprising that the foreign colonies are so reduced as to be almost extinct, except up the railway line from Samsun, where Italian workmen are numerous, and to some extent in the town itself, where there is a little colony of Americans employed in one or other of the three important American tobacco-buying firms represented there, the American, the Gary and the Alston. There is also a sprinkling of foreigners (Germans, Austrians, Belgians, Italians, Czechoslovakians, &c.) connected in various capacities with the railway, electric works, harbour works and Régie cigarette factory. (The manager of the latter is a German.) The banks (Ottoman and Salonica) and business firms account for a few more. Curiously enough, only France is represented at Samsun, and that very unworthily, by a consul, whose name is Vadala, an ex Maltese with boorish manners and appearance and a perfect genius for making trouble and giving offence. It is now fifteen months since I had an opportunity of paying more than a flying visit to Samsun, and I feel that more of interest may have happened there since than I have had the means of finding out. My recent abortive tour to Angora was to have included Samsun on the return journey, and I have hopes of being in a position to spend at least some days there later in the year.

6. British subjects throughout the whole district are a mere handful, and even they are not permanent residents. At Trebizond there are two British subjects who are clerks in the Ottoman Bank, with their families. One is English and the other Maltese. At Samsun there is a Maltese family, also connected with the bank, and

the manager at Ordu is a Maltese British subject. At Rizeh there are the three Englishmen connected with the manganese mine referred to above. These, to the best of my knowledge, complete the list.

7. The largest foreign colony in Trebizond is the Persian, mostly merchants, porters, camel-drivers and others connected with the one-time flourishing transit trade. The Persian residents number about 100 all told. They had their own school until a year or two ago, but this has been closed by the authorities, as has also the little private school conducted by the two Italian fathers of the Capuchin Mission, who have been subjected to various forms of persecution, though the church remains open and burials are still allowed among the ruins of the desecrated European cemetery. French protection of Catholics is, of course, a dead letter, but my French colleague, since the recent agreement with the Vatican, receives with manifest satisfaction such mitigated liturgical honours as the present poverty of the church services affords on the stipulated occasions. The local French colony consists of a bankrupt trader in hourly danger of finding house [illegible] a Turkish person, an engineer in charge of the electrical works which are to bring electric light and power to the town next year, and an expert from Lyons who is managing the Trebizond silk factory, a very small establishment, which, however, produces some excellent materials. The Italians are hardly more numerous, and have no permanent stake in the country. Still, a *carriere* Italian consul is expected shortly to replace the unsuitable person, formerly a dragoman, who has been acting since the end of the war. The Soviets have no interests except propaganda, and very little scope for that, there being nothing, apart from the haimals, in the nature of a proletariat for them to work upon. My Soviet colleague "protects" about a dozen native Greek families who had [illegible] Russian nationality and who saved themselves from expulsion and the confiscation of their property by nominally becoming "Red," while in reality they are no more so than the little colony of "Whites"—real Russians these—who drag out a wretched existence, without consular protection, in a *milieu* of, for the most part, drink and vice and blackest misery.

I have, &c.
W. L. C. KNIGHT.

E 3452/1672/44] No. 21.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 8.)

(No. 413.)
Sir,

Constantinople, August 3, 1927.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the draft law for the creation of a Turkish Supreme Economic Council, transmitted under cover of my despatch No. 168 of the 6th April, 1927, was ratified by the Grand National Assembly towards the close of the last session.

2. No amendments were made to the draft law, all the provisions contained therein having been maintained, but slight alterations were made in the actual wording, and an appropriation was made to provide for the necessary clerical establishment of the Council.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 3456/3456/44] No. 22.

Mr. Randall to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 8.)

(No. 123.)
Sir,

British Legation to the Holy See,
Rome, August 4, 1927.

I HAVE the honour to report that the Delegate Apostolic in Constantinople has informed the Vatican that the Turkish Government have issued a decree which accords full liberty to Turkish citizens to leave the Islamic faith and embrace any other religion to which they feel inclined. So far there is little enthusiasm in Vatican circles over this step, the disposition being to wait and see how this toleration works out in practice and is applied by the local authorities. The Vatican is also anxious to know whether it will be followed by a modification of the restrictions on Catholics

in general in Turkey, since the attitude of the Turkish Government has so far made it impossible to maintain any Catholic hierarchy provided with the requisite amount of independence and liberty. Some time ago, for example, there was a question of reoccupying the See of Adana, but the conditions laid down by the Turkish Government, I am informed, were that the bishop should wear civilian dress, should refrain from celebrating Mass publicly, and should not maintain correspondence with Catholics outside Turkey. Naturally, these conditions were rejected. Whether the decree under reference will result in more tolerable conditions remains to be seen, and the Vatican authorities are following developments with close attention. It may be added the confidence of the Vatican in the intentions of the Turkish Government would be stronger were it not for their knowledge that the Government is taking a hand in the intrigue against the Acting Armenian Patriarch, Mgr. Nazlian, to which reference is made in despatch No. 367 of the 12th July, from His Majesty's Ambassador in Constantinople, which I have received in the printed sections.

I have, &c.
A. W. G. RANDALL.

[E 3531/147/44] No. 23

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 15.)

(No. 416.)

Sir, *Therapia, August 9, 1927.*

SOMEWHAT to my surprise, the news of the conclusion at Paris of a settlement of the vexed coupons question has, in comparison for instance with the establishment of direct express train communication between Angora and Western Europe, attracted little or no attention in the Turkish press. The latter have for the most part contented themselves with publishing, without serious comment, the reports received through the telegraph agencies and the public has been left to interpret the settlement as it may desire.

2. In such articles as have appeared, the history of the whole question is reviewed, naturally, from the Turkish point of view, in some detail, and the writers generally assume, though not with any marked confidence, that the settlement will open the Western money markets to Turkey, and that the foreign capital so badly required for railway construction and development generally will soon begin to flow eastwards. There is, at the same time, a certain nervousness lest the annual payments to be made by Turkey may cause a further depreciation of Turkish currency. Moreover, this nervousness has not been lessened by a slight fall in the lira in the last week, during which the pound sterling has risen from 940 piastres, at which level it has been fairly steady for some months past, to about 970 piastres.

3. The semi-official "Milliet" of the 6th instant, in a leading article by Mahmud Bey, Deputy for Sert, alone goes more deeply into the matter and reveals what may presumably be regarded as the official Turkish view of the settlement. Mahmud Bey open his article by stating that the coupons question was the thorniest of all those left unsettled at Lausanne. Turkey knew that she was not in a position to pay what was demanded, and has only now been able to convince the bondholders of the soundness of her contention. She has throughout refused to allow her representatives to put their signatures to undertakings which she could not fulfil. The terms of the settlement are such that they can be observed, and the bondholders can rest assured that Turkey will scrupulously respect her engagements.

4. The annual payments provided for will, continues Mahmud Bey, be a heavy load on the Turkish taxpayer, but the discharge of the debts of the old regime is a matter of *amour propre* for the new Turkey, and the latter is capable of shouldering the burden as now determined. Nor will Turkey be a loser, for the new settlement of the debt will put an end to hostile propagandists, more particularly in America, with a ready weapon by enabling them to point at the Turks as a nation in whom no confidence could be placed. With the settlement all is, however, changed. Turkey, who the British at Lausanne said would be driven to seek foreign loans and who in the intervening five years has accomplished so much without them, will benefit by the more rapid development of the country and by the economic uplifting of her people. In return American and other capital, it will find in Turkey a wide field of activity from which they will reap a richer and surer harvest than they can do elsewhere, but, concludes Mahmud Bey, they must for ever bear in mind that "no matter what their nature, business combines and schemes must never in any way be directed against our financial and economic independence."

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 3532/74/65] No. 24.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 15.)

(No. 417.)

Sir, *Therapia, August 9, 1927.*

AS you are aware from correspondence ending with my despatch No. 321 of the 22nd June last, the Turkish Government have been engaged for the last two years in transferring to other parts of Turkey large numbers of Kurds and other elements which since the establishment of the present régime have been a constant source of trouble in the districts east of the Euphrates. Whereas, up till two months ago, such transfers were carried out on a limited scale, it now seems clear that, with the acceptance of the law regarding which information was given in my despatch under reference, they are now taking place on a scale which to some extent recalls the mass deportations of Armenians in 1915.

2. With the whole of the disaffected area completely shut off from contact with the outside world, and with the press maintaining a discreet silence on the subject, no means are available for ascertaining either the present situation in the eastern vilayets or the number of persons affected by the compulsory exchange, but it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that not less than 20,000 men, women and children will have been forcibly driven from their homes before the deportations are completed.

3. As regards the destination of these unfortunate people and the conditions of their deportation, I have just received a report from His Majesty's Consul at Trebizond, according to which sixty male Kurds, handcuffed and chained together in couples, were a few days ago marched through Trebizond and believed to have been placed on board a Turkish steamer bound for Constantinople. They had arrived on foot by the Erzerum Road, but Mr. Knight was unable to ascertain the district from which they had come. No report has been published here of the arrival of these Kurds, and it is possible that they have been sent on to Smyrna or its hinterland whither a considerable number of influential Kurdish families were deported last year.

4. In this connection I quote for facility of reference from the report of the military attaché on his recent journey in East Central Anatolia the following extracts which throw a little light on the manner in which the deportations are being carried out:—

> "I saw three separate convoys of Kurds in process of transportation. The first was between Niğde and Develi Karahissar. It consisted of three men with about 150 women and children. Their goods and chattels were piled on bullock waggons, most of them were walking, with one or two of the elder women riding on donkeys or in the carts, and they were escorted by ten gendarmes. The second, also of the march, was between Karaman and Konia. It was pointed out to me from the train by a fellow-traveller, and was about 300 strong. Lastly, at Chumrah, near Konia, there was a camp of about 600. I remarked to a station-hand that there were a lot of gipsies about and he corrected me, saying that they were transported Kurds. At Chumrah, also in camp, was about a battalion of infantry and half a company of engineers. They, according to the station hand, arrived about a fortnight earlier and were there to guard the Kurds."
>
> Those in the convoy seen on the road seemed fairly cheerful. Although the gendarmes moved me on when I got into conversation with one of the men, they did not appear to be unduly driven, nor as if they were being treated as the Armenian deportees were treated.

5. If, as is suggested by Major Barent, the destination of these Kurds is the fertile Konia plain, they may in course of time resign themselves to a peaceful agricultural life, and so cease to worry the powers that be. They are, however, leaving behind a vacuum in areas which were already insufficiently populated, and

there are signs that the Central Administration is casting about for means of filling this. At first efforts were made to do so by the plantation in the eastern vilayets of some thousands of exchanged Greek Moslems, but this proved to be such a failure that the Government has perforce abandoned it.

6. An alternative method has suggested itself in the shape of the 40,000 to 50,000 Caucasian Muslems to whom reference was made in the final paragraph of my despatch No. 310 of the 18th June. Here also difficulties have been reported, for the local press a few days ago had to publish the not insignificant news that the immigration expert who had been sent to the Caucasus to intervew the prospective immigrants, had reported to the Minister of the Interior that some had opted for Turkish nationality under the Turco-Russian Agreement, while others had not, and that, to regulate the status of the latter, a fresh convention would have to be negotiated with Russia. It is not difficult to infer from this that the immigration expert's mission was not so successful as had been hoped.

7. Further, I learn from His Majesty's Consul at Erzerum that the Soviet Government is not much enamoured of the Turkish Government's latest proposal for repopulating the deserted eastern vilayets. According to Mr. Knight's Russian colleague, the Turkish Government has not so far got beyond submitting the proposal to the Soviets, who regard it with scant favour. Comrade Etingoff was indeed rather amused at the idea of some 40,000 free and prosperous citizens of the Caucasus exchanging their present contented lot for that of settlers in a barren land in which such a large proportion of other Moslem immigrants had already perished. He much doubted whether more than 10 per cent. of the desired number would in fact be induced to make the fatal experiment.

8. Since the opening of this despatch I have read in the press a statement regarding the situation in the eastern provinces made by Ali Saib Bey, until recently a member of the Eastern Independence Tribunal. According to this authority perfect calm reigns in this region which he has just left; order and security have been re-established. By virtue of the recent law, several disaffected families have been transferred to Western Anatolia, and the return of deported upon the Government are being applied with much tact and with much perseverance. The lie to the earlier part of this statement is very definitely given by the imposition of martial law and large armed forces in the eastern vilayets, which magnifying glasses are not necessary to enable one to arrive at the truth which can be read between the lines of the last part of this cynical statement.

9. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Acting High Commissioner at Baghdad.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 3533/257/44. No. 25.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 15.)

(No. 419.)

Sir, *Therapia, August 9, 1927.*

DURING the past month there has, according to the press, been feverish electoral activity throughout this country. Actually, signs of electoral activity of any kind have been absolutely lacking, but as in these days there can be but one party in the State this is perhaps hardly surprising.

2. The new elections are being carried out on the basis of the Election Law of 1925, which was very slightly modified just before the recent closing of the Second Grand National Assembly. This provides for a system of secondary elections, whereby every 200 primary electors (women's suffrage, though spoken of, has not yet been introduced in Turkey) choose a "second" elector, every hundred of whom in due course elect a Deputy to the Assembly.

3. The fact that no population statistics are available has made it a matter of some difficulty to establish the number of "second" electors to be allotted to each constituency, but this has been easily overcome thanks to the simple expedient of stretching the numbers of the population to their uttermost limits, as, for instance, in the case of Constantinople, to which seventeen Deputies are to be allotted on the assumption that there are 340,000 electors. In other districts the exaggeration must be on an even larger scale, for it is stated on official authority that the new Assembly will number at least 300 Deputies, a total which, according to the law, would provide for the representation of upwards of 6 million primary electors, and that in a country whose total population is most unlikely to exceed that figure by more than 50 per cent.

4. The elections are, however, going forward, and the choice of the "second" electors has now almost been completed. With the entire electoral machinery in the hands of the People's party organisation, it is perhaps superfluous to add that that party's "electors" have everywhere been unanimously elected. Indeed, it is doubtful whether in any area any but those on the approved list had the audacity to submit their candidature.

5. The final elections will, it is understood, be held early in September, and can hardly fail to be as uninteresting as have been the recent "second" elections. What will be of interest will be the list of People's party candidates, as regards which the utmost secrecy is being maintained. By a decision of the party in May last, the party's candidates must be vetted by a committee consisting of the president (Mustafa Kemal Pasha), vice-president (Ismet Pasha) and secretary-general (Saket Bey) of the party. The two last have arrived at Constantinople within the last week and are understood to be in daily consultation with the Ghazi. Nevertheless, the number of the present Deputies is widespread, and it is confidently expected that not less than half of these will disappear and that their places will be taken by more enlightened representatives who have deserved well of their country, their party and more particularly of its president.

6. Since it is known that the list of People's party candidates to be published over the Ghazi's signature will a few days later be the list of Deputies composing the Assembly which will meet on the 1st November, the prevailing secrecy gives rise to much speculation, more especially as it is in marked contrast to the comparative easiness with which the last general election was carried out four years ago. Moreover, there was at that time a heterogeneous collection of dissentients who, if left alone, might have coalesced into a reasonably effective Opposition. To-day even these have disappeared, the Kemalist creed has been assiduously propagated in the intervening four years through the agency of the Turk Ojakleri, and the entire country has been thoroughly organised for electoral and other purposes by People's party inspectors, who in their respective zones are more powerful than the once omnipotent Valis. Further, as if the precautions already enumerated were not enough, a few thousand Valis and Party Inspectors have been changed in the last week.

7. In view of all this it is not surprising that secrecy has given rise to rife speculation. This has for some time centred round the person of Ali Bey, the president of the now abolished Angora Independence Tribunal, who, with the assistance of his former colleague, Kilij Ali Bey, and others, was believed to be leading a cave against Ismet Pasha. For my own part, I have throughout been sceptical regarding such rumours, if only because Ali Bey does not seem to me to be capable of filling the bill. He has been, and may again be, a willing and capable henchman, but he is not, I think, possessed of the qualities of a leader. If, however, such a cave did exist and if, if it were, of it were lacking, the Ghazi appears successfully to have broken it, for Kilij Ali Bey, a former sergeant of gendarmerie and a bully with no redeeming qualities, has been in constant attendance on the Ghazi ever since his arrival in Constantinople.

8. It is suggested that the Ghazi's object in dispensing with the services of half the present Deputies is to facilitate the introduction of further unspecified reforms which he has in view. Be this as it may, the drastic weeding of the existing Deputies is likely to end in the creation of a not inconsiderable disgruntled element which, with an effective rallying point, might constitute a possible source of future trouble. Such a rallying point might be found in the person of Rejeb Bey, the present Minister of War, who at one time was regarded as second in influence to Ismet Pasha alone, and as the latter's only possible successor. Recently Rejeb Bey has retired into obscurity. He occupies himself only with his department and confessed the other day to my military attaché that he had ceased to busy himself with politics. He is, moreover, the only Minister who has not visited the Ghazi in Constantinople, and his disappearance from the Cabinet in the event of a reconstruction of the latter would not be unexpected.

9. In the meantime Ismet Pasha clearly continues to enjoy the full confidence of the Ghazi, who seeks his advice at every step and who a fortnight ago specially visited him at Brusa, where the Prime Minister was undergoing a cure. Now Ismet Pasha himself has come here and sees the Ghazi daily. The Minister for Foreign

Affairs also has paid two short visits, and in the course of the last week most of the Cabinet has been at Dolma Baghtche Palace, where Refik Bey, the very capable Minister of Health, seems to be exercising an increasing influence. While in most other States such meetings would, especially on the eve of a general election, be regarded as only natural, it is difficult to believe that this is the case here to-day when one remembers the personality of the Ghazi, the manner in which he has on previous occasions taken decisive decisions alone, or at most in consultation with Ismet Pasha, and the steps which have been taken to render the elections a mere formality. I confess, however that I am unable to indicate the real reason for these meetings, and if I suggest that internal dissensions are beginning to show themselves in the more influential body of the Popular party, I do so, not because I have anything concrete on which to base such a theory, but rather because I feel that such a state of affairs is not inherently improbable.

10. Whatever may be happening behind the walls of Dolma Baghtche, there are abundant signs that the Ghazi is enjoying his stay in Constantinople. He appears to be much improved in health and shows himself frequently in public in a very informal manner. So far he has shown a marked reluctance to attend public functions, but he pays frequent visits to different places on the Bosphorus and to the islands. On such occasions the absence of a uniformed guard is a particular feature, though this is doubtless compensated for by a strong guard of civil clothes policemen. One result of the charms of the Bosphorus seems to be that the strict régime which the German medical specialists three months ago regarded as essential for the Ghazi's continued existence has had to be modified, for on at least two occasions within the last week he has had to be assisted to his launch at the end of the evening's enjoyment. On the Ghazi, as on his immediate entourage, which incidentally is not what had become known last winter as the Chan Kaya clique but rather the friends of older days, such as Kilij Ali, Salih and Rejeb Zuhdi Beys, the comparative luxury of Constantinople seems to be having its effect. No suggestion is made as to the date when the President will return to the capital, and a presidential visit to Adrianople and Thrace, which a fortnight ago was stated to be imminent, is steadily postponed.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

E 3534/63/44] No. 26.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 15.)

(No. 421.)
Sir, *Therapia, August 10, 1927.*

IT might have been thought, five years after the new Turkey was able to make peace on equal terms with the victorious Allies at Lausanne, that with the consolidation of the present régime at Angora the Turkish Government would have been content gradually to draw a veil over the events which immediately preceded the exaction of what present-day Turks are pleased to term their Charter of Liberty. Such, however, is not so, for during the last month frequent reports have appeared in the press of the decisions taken by a Parliamentary Commission which was appointed a year ago to enquire into the antecedents of State functionaries and others who were believed not to have played a sufficiently active part in, or had indeed opposed, the struggle for independence. The said commission was apparently accorded full powers as regards both the examination of the records of such persons and the penalties to be inflicted on them for their lukewarm or misdirected patriotism.

2. Possessed of these powers, the commission has recently completed its labours with the production of a report. In the latter is included a "Black List" of some hundreds of persons who, by the decision of the commission, may not henceforth be employed by the State, and whose civil rights are for all practical purposes withdrawn. Lawyers are, for instance, forbidden to practise. The commission, being appointed direct by the Assembly, is independent of Government control, and no provision is made for appeal unless the unfortunate persons affected dare to address themselves to the Assembly, a court of appeal which manifestly gives them little hope of redress.

3. The main feature of the press publications on this subject lies, however, in the fact that, though the commission's activities extended over all functionaries, attention has been almost exclusively devoted to those persons on the "Black List" who were members of what was known as the "Friends of England Association." This association was founded in 1910 by the then Grand Vizier, Kiamil Pasha, with the object of fostering Anglo-Turkish friendship. Owing to the outbreak of the Turco-Italian war and to the other wars which followed, it did not become properly organised until the spring of 1919, when for a time its activities were above reproach. Within a year it is stated to have enrolled as many as 100,000 members, and though this estimate may be an outside one, there seems little doubt that, but for the Kemalist movement, the influence of the association might have become considerable. With the emergence of that movement, violent dissensions arose within the executive council of the association, the more reputable and influential members of which resigned, and the association itself fell more and more into the hands of untrustworthy political intriguers and adventurers of the type of Said Mollah (see Sir R. Lindsay's despatch No. 241 of the 18th March, 1924) and Messud Bey (your despatch No. 45 of the 9th January, 1925), the former of whom in June 1921 became chairman. As a result of these changes the membership and influence of the association dwindled almost to vanishing point, and the British High Commission steadfastly refused to have anything to do with Said Mollah and his associates, whose activities were very definitely anti-Nationalist in character. In the autumn of 1922 steps were, however, taken to facilitate the flight from Turkey of some of the latter whose names had become fairly well known, and who at that time considered their lives to be in danger.

4. But even if, as the apologists of the "Black List" seem to contend, it is towards the last remnants of Said Mollah's association that the decisions of the special commission are chiefly directed, the pettiness of Turkish political life, so far at least as the Assembly is concerned, is demonstrated by the fact that the list of unpatriotic persons, whose "treason" is not so serious as to justify expulsion, includes teachers, policemen, chemists and minor officials of all kinds in addition to one or two more prominent names, such as that of Jemal Pasha, who is generally recognised, even at Angora, as having been the most capable Prefect of Constantinople in the last generation.

5. Generally speaking, the press is rather at a loss. No one seems to know the real reason for these persecutions. Some say that they are to renew harmony in the Popular party as a sop to the extremists, who have been kicking against the Ghazi's policy of internal reconciliation. Others maintain that their purpose is to get rid of certain Deputies in the present Assembly who have refused to take their sentence of expulsion from the next one quietly. In any case, the press is on the whole critical. For instance, Yunus Nadi Bey in the "République" ridiculed the persecution of these unimportant people and the raising of the question at this late date at all. He pointed out that Turks could be patriots and at the same time Anglophils, and endeavoured to show that his idea of the commission's mandate was that it should deal with such persons as Said Mollah who, whatever their other sympathies, had been definitely anti-Nationalist and therefore traitors. He concluded by expressing the hope that the unfortunate affair would not be misunderstood by the British people. With such opinions being vented in the press (the "Vakt" also in a leading article expressed similar sentiments), and particularly so in the "République," which still possesses some influence, it would not be surprising if the new Assembly were directed to mitigate somewhat the ruthlessness of the special commission's decisions.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

[E 3535/63/44] No. 27.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 15.)

(No. 422.)
Sir, *Therapia, August 10, 1927.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 421 of to-day's date relative to the action taken by the Turkish authorities against the members of the late "Friends of England Association," I have the honour to submit to your consideration the question

whether such action does not involve a direct breach of the Amnesty Declaration of the Treaty of Lausanne

> "No person who inhabits or who has inhabited Turkey . . . shall be disturbed or molested . . . under any pretext whatsoever, on account of any military or political action taken by him, or any assistance of any kind given by him to a foreign Power signatory of the Treaty of Peace . . . ."

There can be no doubt that to deprive those named in the Black List, who are all outside the 150 specially excluded from the amnesty, of their offices, livelihood and pensions is molestation, and I presume that it will not be contended that this declaration was only designed to cover Turks and Greeks. The wording of the protocol excepting the 150 from the amnesty is itself sufficient to upset such an argument

It seems to me that all the Powers who are signatories of the Treaty of Lausanne and who are theoretically responsible for securing its strict observance by Turkey are affected. But which, if any, of these signatories will be ready to lift a finger on behalf of these persecuted Turks?

Moreover, whose business is it to raise the question, and before what tribunal? Normally one would expect the victims to appeal first to their own Government, and, if that failed, to the other signatories of the treaty. But the constitution of the Investigating Commission expressly prevents any appeal, save to the Assembly itself, whose verdict is certain to be unfavourable, and any Turk who ventured to appeal to the foreign Powers would, even if his appeal were eventually successful, have paid for it bitterly long before the procedure for remedying the wrong had been settled

On the other hand, should one wait for the Turkish victims to appeal? These people [illegible] are definitely being paid for their membership of the Friends of England Association Is it not, then, the moral duty of England to take up their case? There are obvious arguments against our doing any such thing. I incline to the view of my predecessor that no debts towards the post war association, which is the one that is being punished, were incurred by His Majesty's Government, and that any personal claim on the part of its leaders was more than fully discharged His Majesty's Government were in no way responsible for the inception of the association nor for its development nor for its membership, while to take up this case will not only throw our relations with Turkey back into the unfriendly character of the recent past but would very probably do more harm than good to the actual victims We are powerless to give them any direct protection, and the result of our intervention might well be to make their lot even harder than it is at present. For us to act alone might, then, with reason be held to be a political mistake. But can we hope to get our co-signatories to act with us? I imagine that neither France nor Italy is sorry to see us in a position where we stand to lose ground in this country either way If we interfere, we incur the resentment of the Turkish Government and our trade competitors can scarcely fail to benefit. If we do nothing, not only does faith in us receive a shock, but the Turkish Government will consider that they can treat us as a negligible quantity

The dilemma is unpleasant, but I venture to express the humble opinion that in such cases we gain in the end if we do what we consider is right rather than what we think expedient *If*, therefore, it is considered that this action of the special commission of the National Assembly is a breach of the Treaty of Lausanne, I think that we should at least approach our co-signatories, or, in the first instance, the French and Italian Governments, and ask them if they share this view If so, it might be suggested that as a first step, we should in the most friendly manner call the attention of the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs to what is no doubt an oversight and invite him to put it right. If the Turkish Government refuse to respond, the question might then be considered of raising the matter in the Council of the League of Nations.

I have, &c
G CLERK

[E 3537/1672/44] No 28.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 15.)

(No. 424.)

Sir, *Therapia, August 10, 1927.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your herewith a memorandum by Mr. R. H. Hadow, second secretary of this Embassy, relative to the prospects of Turkey in general, and Turkish railways in particular, as an opening for the investment of British capital or the extension of British trade

2 Mr. Hadow's paper confirms my opinion that, while there are possibilities in both these directions, conditions are still too insecure to warrant advising British trade and commerce to engage itself deeply in Turkey. German trade is increasing and German enterprise extending, chiefly because of the support accorded to it by the German Government and German banks. Whether this policy will in the end prove profitable it is not yet possible to say, but it certainly creates immediate advantages for German industry; and when, if ever, the day comes that Turkish credit is sound in Lombard Street, British manufacturers and financiers may find the whole country already a German economic preserve

I have, &c
GEORGE R. CLERK

Enclosure in No 28

Memorandum

NOW that it appears that an agreement has been reached between the foreign bondholders and the Turkish Government for resumption of payments on the Ottoman debt the district of Turkey as a field for investment of British capital or extension of British trade will call for examination

2. The following notes on the present position as regards railways, to the development of which more than to anything else the Turkish Government is devoting its attention may therefore be of some interest.

3 A large part of this field has already been covered by German activity, as has been reported in recent despatches on railway construction and finance or in the despatches forwarded by His Majesty's commercial secretary to the Department of Overseas Trade.

4 Great scope for German enterprise has been afforded by the desire of the Turkish Government to cover its country with a net-work of railways the principal schemes for construction of which may be summarised as follows —

(1) Swedish-Danish Group: Eregli Angora and Keller-Malatia-Diarbekir lines
(2) Belgian Group: Caesarea-Tourhal-Sivas line
(3.) German (Berger) Group: Caesarea-Oulu Kishla and Kutahia-Tavshanli-Balikessir lines

All these contracts have been signed and work has begun in each case

There remain as unsanctioned proposals :—

(4) Swiss-American or German-American Group: Ada Bazar-Bolu-Changri-Amasia line or some similar alignment from west to east in the above districts
(5.) Turkish Government: Samsoun-Havza and Trebizond-Madenkouy-Erzerum lines, as well as re-establishment of the Erzerum-Sarikamish narrow gauge railway, built during the war by the occupying Russian forces and the Sarikamish Armatchai broad gauge line, once worked by the same Government

5. Other vague schemes for railways in Eastern or Northern Turkey are propounded almost daily in the press but need not be considered at present, for if Turkey ever carries out the above programme she will have her hands full and her pockets empty keeping the many purely strategic sections of these lines in working order

6. In passing I would draw attention to the manner in which the majority of these railways are based on, or back on to, the Black Sea. It may be that Turkey and Russia propose to maintain that sea as a *mare clausum* in case of aggression by a Western Power and Turkey would then be able to obtain warlike supplies in abundance from Germany viâ Russia. From a financial point of view, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that the chance of any of the railways paying their way for years to come is remote, and that they are of strategic rather than commercial origin.

7. Into the three established constructional schemes enumerated above German capital is reported to have been injected, directly or indirectly, in every case, though the exact proportion of German capital and the consequent German hold or control over the supplies of railway material is not known here at present.

8. Interesting, nevertheless, is the demand reported in Colonel Woods's despatch of the 3rd August, which shows clearly enough that the European Steel Cartel is endeavouring to apportion the orders coming from Turkey, be they for Belgian, German or Swedish groups, among its members, a point to which I will return later.

9. For the moment I propose to examine the factors which have decided German capital to enter the Turkish field and the financial outlook for such capital in the near or distant future.

10. From a memorandum by the financial adviser to His Majesty's Embassy at Berlin enclosed in Mr. Addison's despatch No. 308 of the 24th June last, I seem to that the final risk of any Turkish default has been taken by the German Government in much the same manner and for the same reasons as actuate His Majesty's Government in granting to British firms the advantages of the Foreign Trade Facilities Act.

11. The underwriting or subscribing German banks are thus safe in their agreement to furnish in Constantinople the requisite capital for construction work or purchase of supplies required by the German group. The German taxpayer alone is underwriting the scheme. If the Belgian and Swedish groups fall into line with the German financial policy they can also doubtless be financed in like manner, though there is as yet no knowledge of an agreement to underwrite this risk also on the part of the German Government. The latter probably count—for the Berger schemes at all events—on at least 50 per cent. of the construction costs being paid by the Turkish Government without demur, or at least without serious risk of loss, since approximately this proportion of the loan contracted by the Turkish Government to cover construction costs is payable during the three and a half years, at the end of which construction of both lines must be complete. At worst the work of construction could therefore be stopped if Turkey defaulted, and the principal loss would lie in cancellation of the contracts for materials on which Germany is relying to keep her heavy industries busy. The other 50 per cent. of the cost may be divided, if all goes well, as follows:

12. Profits probably not less than 25 per cent., seeing the risk involved and the bribery that has taken place in obtaining the concession; total valid risk therefore probably 25 per cent. This the German Government underwrites cheerfully in accordance with its traditional policy for extending German trade and having in mind the 10 per cent. of interest on capital which the Turkish Government has agreed to pay as interest to the financing group. Moreover, the German financial group which undertakes to cover construction of the Berger lines holds Turkish Government bonds which would at any time form a valid claim against the Government for the entire amount involved, in all 81 million gold marks, including interest.

13. Divorced from all other considerations, and reinforced by political considerations as well as ordinary trade factors, such as German capture of the Turkish market, this policy has its advantages, and indeed I should hesitate to say that, with the pressure Germany could bring to bear by threatening to cut off munition supplies and plant for the Angora arsenal, German capital will not in the long run recover its expenditure in full and make the profits attendant upon such enterprises.

14. But it is necessary, before I turn to the purely commercial side of the question, to examine Turkey's financial situation with regard to railway construction in so far as the scanty materials at my disposal allow me to do so.

15. In the first place, Turkey has now agreed to resume payment of her pre-war Ottoman debt. In so doing she is practically admitting that the financing of her construction programme is beyond her means and that she wants to borrow money on the international market.

16. It is a moot question as yet whether she has not pledged to the construction groups at least part of the revenues previously assigned to the Ottoman debt.

17. In this eventuality she must choose between the two creditors or satisfy neither, in which case foreign loans are not likely to come her way except at the exorbitant rates of interest or amortisation which, she complains, ruled before the consolidation of the Ottoman debt became a painful necessity. The Ottoman debt, moreover, is held chiefly by France and Great Britain, while railway construction is at present being financed principally by Germany. An international struggle for the assets in case of bankruptcy of the State might thus result, with Turkey probably scoring, or Germany might even hope to establish a claim to be the trustee in bankruptcy—thereby in the course of time more than making good any original loss. But such a demand would, even if conceded by the other Governments, mean a long postponement of those orders for steel and consequent activity in the heavy industry shops which are the inspiration of Germany's policy in Turkey to-day.

18. There is the further question of the Anatolian and Bagdad Railways, into which German capital has been sunk in preponderating amounts. Every time Herr Meissner, the representative of the German bondholders, has come to Angora to propose a settlement of this debt of £T 80 million gold, he has returned empty-handed. Now he will no doubt renew his demands, and, in view of the Paris settlement, the German creditors will press their Government to apply pressure on their behalf also. A Government which wiped out its internal war debt by ruining its middle-class creditors may once more ignore their cries; preferring to keep its workmen employed and its works busy on new orders from Turkey. If not, it will probably be faced with the unpleasant alternative of upholding the creditors of the Bagdad railways, and so driving Turkey to seek capital—with its attendant orders for material—elsewhere. If the question arises, the probability is that the German Government will take up the line of letting the Anatolian Railway bondholders arrange a settlement for themselves as best they can; for the deciding factor would doubtless be the question of extending German trade with Turkey.

19. Each year the contracts placed by the latter go in greater numbers to German firms, each year sees a consequent tightening of the German hold over Turkey by the renewal of orders for German material. Tenders for railway material and Anatolian railways are naturally enough, made out to German specifications and letter in terms which any German clerk can readily understand, since they are translated directly from the German.

20. Insufficient time is given between publication of the notices and dates of adjudication, and it is clear that German firms have made a prior agreement with the adjudicators, and that the call for tenders is merely a formality. A not uncommon example of the German specifications of such tenders is enclosed with this despatch for your information,* the tender itself having been sent to the Department of Overseas Trade by this Embassy under cover of Colonel Woods's despatch of the 20th July last. Germany is therefore now in virtual possession of the heavy industries market of Turkey. It is not possible accurately to assess from here the material value of these latter since the bulk of orders is not open to public tender.

21. An examination of the various public tenders reported by the commercial secretary of this Embassy to the Department of Overseas Trade during the past three years with a list of the successful firms in each case will, however, I feel convinced, show the success that has attended German firms in this branch of commerce in Turkey.

22. Nor is this success confined to the metals and machinery sections of the trade. During the month of September 1926 (the most recent statistics as yet available) Germany increased her exports to Turkey by over £T 50,000 as compared with the figures for the corresponding month of 1925, while British exports decreased by precisely the same amount. The total value of German imports into Turkey during the same month was £T 2,600,000, of which over £T 700,000 consisted of metals and machinery combined. Nearly £T 2 million therefore consisted of other wares—cotton goods, woollens, industrial oils and the like.

23. It is not out of place to point out that during the same month Great Britain exported to Turkey metals to the value of £T 290,000 and machinery valued at £T 60,000 only—a total of £T 350,000 or half of Germany's contribution. The latter's painstaking representatives and local factors may be trusted to press every advantage thus gained to the utmost, while the British firm has a tendency to draw back from the irritating methods of the Turkish importer and to abandon in disgust this keenly competitive and not very remunerative market with its complex and vexatious official restrictions and Levantine methods grafted on to ill-digested and ill-observed Westernisation.

* Not printed.

24. The German Embassy is at the beck and call of the German importer, and trade and politics go hand in hand, though it remains to be seen whether the partnership is a sound financial policy in the long run, even if at the moment it may give the German trader an advantage over his competitors.

25. Such, then, being the advantages and disadvantages, the gains and risks which Germany has thought fit to embark upon in Turkey, where does Great Britain stand?

26. Ill-considered finance, over-spending on military budgets, ceaseless war against her own population in the Kurdish districts of Eastern Turkey, have swollen the demands upon Turkey's revenues to disproportionate figures.

27. Nevertheless, her budget is comparatively sound at the moment—though the so-called balance is fallacious—and would probably be kept in a satisfactory state were the military expenditure to be cut down drastically in order to provide the requisite sums for the railway construction programme. It is doubtful whether Turkey, which is essentially a warlike State, governed to-day by an absolute semi-military camarilla, would consent to this sacrifice under foreign pressure. Rather would she do the reverse in her instant fear that the foreign Powers were beginning a deep plan for her destruction or subjugation.

28. Entry into the League of Nations, or an alliance on the plan of the Locarno treaties with the principal European Powers, might ease her mind to the extent of letting her railways in some measure take precedence over her arsenals and military depots. But this desirable event cannot easily be encompassed so long as Russia is at her back, a well armed and outwardly friendly bandit, smiling broadly, but ever ready to threaten if Turkey took a step towards the European Powers.

29. None the less, Great Britain can do a good deal to reassure Turkey by maintaining a friendly attitude and so smooth the path of the British trader, provided that Turkey will renounce her ways of petty persecution, which spell destruction of British trade in this country.

30. For British capital there is open the way of co-operation in foreign enterprises in this country provided that British financial houses can satisfy themselves with the security offered. But at the present time, and until Turkey has set her house in order to the extent of providing definite and tangible security for the redemption of her debt, her signed railway schemes and her Anatolian Railway obligations, as well as such municipal debts as the 1909 Loan for the Construction of Galata Bridge, the step of financing new ventures is indeed a hazardous one. Neither can I see that a loan to Turkey would be sound, or even desirable, unless accompanied by stringent guarantees with regard to expenditure and with some form of provision for conversion or consolidation of existing loans to bring these into line with the new Turkish obligations and so prevent a competition for payment of instalments as these fall due between the nations or financial associations holding the many pledges issued by this spendthrift during the various stages of her career.

31. For British manufacturers of steel or railway material an undoubted opportunity lies in the nervousness repeatedly expressed by the Danish partners of the Swedish group lest Germany swallow them up.

32. It is my belief that the Swedish-Danish partners are not well provided with reserve capital and that the Dresdener Bank, which is said to be assisting them, is clamorous in its demands that material shall be of German make.

33. This does not suit the Swedish locomotive manufacturers, and neither is it the wish of the group, as will be seen from the attached copy of a despatch* of the 3rd August last from Colonel Woods to the Department of Overseas Trade, that the Steel Cartel shall swallow up and apportion the group's requirements among its members. In giving prompt assistance to this group's present demand the way may well be opened to supplying the bulk of the latter's requirements, while advantage might also be taken of the group's needs—provided that the security is sufficient—to inject British capital into the enterprise. This would open the door for further activities in Turkey to British manufacturers, who are to-day fast loosing their remaining hold upon this once profitable market, which cannot be said to be devoid of possibilities, even though its immediate prospects are speculative in the extreme.

Therapia, August 10, 1927.

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* Not printed.

E 3629/257/44. No. 29

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 22.)

(No. 428.)

Sir,

Therapia, August 15, 1927.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 419 of the 9th August concerning the present elections in Turkey, I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of a report prepared by His Majesty's consul at Trebizond on the Popular party and the elections in his district.

2. It will be seen from this report how distasteful to the reactionary inhabitants of the Black Sea coast is the Western programme of the present Government and how farcical the elections are in which the Government candidates are assured of success in spite of the unpopularity of their tenets. The discontent in these districts would seem to be such that one day the Soviet Government may find in it an opportunity to incorporate the Laz coast into the Federated Republics of the Caucasus and so to stretch out towards the oppressed Kurdish districts, just as more to the east, Imperial Russia gradually pushed her conquests further and further south.

I have &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 29.

Consul Knight to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 19.)

Sir,

Trebizond, June 30, 1927.

IN my immediately preceding despatch I referred to the great difficulty I had experienced in the attempt to obtain definite information of any kind, owing to the virtual boycott of the foreign consulates which the attitude of the Turkish authorities, with their elaborate system of espionage, had succeeded in establishing. Since this is true even in the case of ordinary economic and commercial information, it may be realised to what extent the boycott operates where political matters are concerned. Having therefore practically no definite data to go upon, I shall now attempt to set down, for what they are worth, my impressions with regard to the position of the Popular party in this district, in accordance with the instructions contained in your Excellency's despatch No. 13 of the 30th April last.

2. I feel that in any case I am on safe ground in stating that were there a dozen recognised parties, corresponding to genuine tendencies, in the country instead of only one, the Popular party's following would be the least numerous, from the Kizil Irmak to the Araxes and from the Black Sea coast to the mountains of Kurdistan. Indeed, it may be averred with almost equal certainty that outside the coast towns, where a sprinkling of the young men may be credited with the views they outwardly profess, the party would have practically no following at all, probably not even one adherent out of a hundred. Communism of the most thorough going Russian type is not more alien and distasteful to the people of this district, and that is saying a very great deal, than the ideas of forcible Europeanisation and secularisation which the Popular party has made its own. As a matter of fact, the Popular party is not conceived of apart from the régime of military autocracy, for which it provides a semblance of legality in harmony with modern democratic principles. It is the regime that has made the party, not the party the regime, and the latter receives the little credit as well as the much greater amount of blame that is due for the present condition of public and private affairs.

3. While the Progressive party had still a recognised existence it obtained the suffrages and sympathy not only of the great majority of the voters but of all the influential and respectable elements of the population. When I first came to Trebizond two and a half years ago the Popular party existed in name only, or at most in skeleton formation. After the suppression of the Progressives a Popular party inspector for the north-eastern vilayets was designated by Angora in the person of a certain Shevket Bey, who has since then been assiduously touring the district, which includes Rizeh, Artvin, Gumush-Khaneh, Kerasund, and probably other vilayets also, with Trebizond as his headquarters. This gentleman has the reputation of being far from popular with the few privileged persons with whom

he has direct dealings, these being exclusively the higher authorities and the principal office bearers in the local party clubs. It appears to be a fact that the Government officials, from the Vali down, are in much dread of him, as being the direct representative of the Ghazi, to whom alone he is believed to be responsible. Our mild, honest and quite unintelligent Vali certainly treats him with marked deference, though not with the absurd obsequiousness of the local Trebizond daily, the "Yeni Yol," which chronicles his movements with unfailing regularity, and showers on him titles and epithets of the most profound respect. I once found myself next to Shevket Bey at an official reception in the Town Hall, and thought him an unsavoury-looking individual, with whom I felt relieved that I had nothing to do, but I have no reason to suppose that he competes in villainy with his underling, the local party representative at Rizeh, Metrudjé Mehmed, whom I had occasion to mention in paragraph 8 of my despatch No. 5 of the 19th May. I may perhaps recall here what I said then in this same connection: "The life of a decent Vali must be made miserable by the local party emissary from Angora, who, although without any recognised official status, is the real power in the place, and no local authority can be independent of his influence or immune from his intrigues."

4. The "Yeni Yol" is endeavouring to give some semblance of reality to the forthcoming elections, but without any success. Paragraphs appear from time to time about the "electoral activity" which is supposed to exist in our midst, but which is conspicuous only by its complete absence. It is a foregone conclusion that no Progressive party candidates, as such, will be allowed to stand, and also that the Popular party's nominees will be duly declared [illegible] Nothing apparently is known as yet as to who the candidates will be or whether any of the existing Deputies will stand again. It is thought probable that Angora will insist on a clean sweep being made of the Deputies returned at the last elections, with the exception of the very few who may be considered really faithful creatures of the present régime. It will be interesting to see whether any independent candidates stand, and, if so, whether any of them will, as a small concession, be allowed to be returned. Meanwhile, the only news bearing on the elections is that the above mentioned inspector general Shevket Bey, together with three of the party delegates of the vilayet, are returning shortly from Angora, presumably to open the electoral campaign.

5. What is specially interesting to an outsider is the undoubted fact that some of the more prominent of the few recent converts to the party are known to harbour sentiments which can only be described as reactionary, as is clearly seen by their continued segregation and veiling of their women, and their attachment to their old modes of life in general. A prominent merchant and member of the chamber of commerce affords a glaring instance of this, and is doubtless an object of scorn to the scoffers. But the material advantages to be gained merely by lending one's name to the party more than compensate, in the opinion of some, for any loss of personal dignity. It is not to be wondered at if self-respecting citizens disclaim all interest in politics, and derive what comfort they can from wearing their calpaks, bashliks or fezzes in strictest privacy, and contemplating the sacred texts which still look down from domestic walls where the Ghazi's familiar features find no place.

I have, &c.

W. L. C. KNIGHT

E 3630/257/44 No. 30.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received August 22.)

(No. 429.)

Sir, *Therapia, August 15, 1927*

IN continuation of my despatch No. 380 of the 26th July last and subsequent despatches on the subject of the internal conditions of Turkey, I have the honour to transmit herewith reports from His Majesty's consular officers at Trebizond, Mersina and Smyrna on general administration in their consular districts, and efficiency and methods of the local officials.

2. The details of these reports are in the main parochial, but there is remarkable unanimity in stating that the "Modernisation of Turkey" has brought about little improvement, and even in some cases a measure of retrogression, in the traditional methods of Government officials in the provinces of this Eastern State.

3. New laws follow each other in bewildering profusion, are half understood or not understood at all by the underlings charged with putting them into operation, and serve largely as an excuse for exactions of all sorts, though the headmen may be, and apparently in some cases are, genuinely imbued with the spirit of reform and progress.

4. The sufferings of foreigners, and particularly of resident British business men, invite attention, since these must affect the attitude of His Majesty's Government, as well as that of British commercial and financial houses, towards any demand for financial accommodation or commercial co-operation which Turkey may put forward in the near future.

5. Never has the business man settled in Turkey been able to count upon freedom from molestation or from the necessity to compound with the local tax gather and official, and few, except absolute novices, are guileless enough to expect such freedom to-day. But the new régime has vastly increased the power of the Government official and the number of the underlings, and it is unfortunately evident that this increase continues to be to the detriment of foreign commerce in every part of Turkey, even though the first flush of rising Nationalism has long since passed.

6. I only know two ways in which the disastrous results to Turkey itself of a continuance of this state of things can be brought home to the Turks. One is the ensuing diminution of trade and the corresponding decline in Turkish revenues, but it will take long for such losses to drive home their lesson. The other is the use of an already sufficiently hard-worked argument, namely, that if Turkey hopes to attract British capital to help in her development, she will be well-advised to cease the issue of innumerable complicated laws and regulations, which only clog the wheels of trade, and to instil into the minds of her officials the spirit of equity and fair dealing. All that is possible is constant reiteration to the representatives of the Turkish Government both in London and Angora of the fact that the petty persecutions, which are now so general, although not thought worth perpetual representations by this Embassy or of His Majesty's Government, do not escape notice, and that their cumulative effect is to set up an irritation which no amount of pious expressions of friendly feelings on the part of the Turkish Government can allay. But the truth is that the system can never be effectively bettered so long as ignorance, inefficiency and starvation pay continue and what will happen will be that those foreign traders, British or others, who can adapt themselves, and find it worth while to do so, will make their own arrangements for dealing with the difficulties which face them, and it will be the Turkish customers who pay the added cost.

7. On the other hand, there is to the credit of Turkey the general improvement in public security, the creditable elimination of brigandage in the inland districts of the west and north, and a certain measure of genuine desire for reform.

8. But against this there is the universal, ancient, and now greatly reinforced system of espionage, which covers the country with a network of undesirables in much the same way as Russia is so "protected," and which, as in that country, would in all probability form an admirable support for any Government, be it reactionary or revolutionary, that was prepared to buy and feed it on a more generous scale even than its present masters.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

Enclosure 1 in No. 30.

Consul Knight to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 5. Confidential.)

Sir, *Trebizond, May 19, 1927*

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch No. 13 of the 30th ultimo, and in continuation of my No. 3 of the 12th instant, I have the honour to report as follows regarding general administration (efficiency, corruption, &c.) in this consular district.

2. That both inefficiency and corruption are to be found among the administrators of this part of Turkey it is impossible to deny, although how the new régime compares with the old in these respects it is difficult to determine, especially for one whose experience of the latter has been, like my own, confined to Constantinople. An expressive Turkish proverb has it that "the fish smells from the head." On

this principle, considering the vilayets as fiefs and the Valis as their heads, and judging from those of the latter whom I have known personally or by reliable hearsay, the proportion would work out at about two-thirds fresh to stale and one third very high indeed. Inefficiency and corruption in many cases exist together, at every stage from head to foot. On the other hand, a perfectly honest Vali may be hopelessly inefficient and corruption reign supreme under his nominal control while a thoroughly dishonest Vali may be highly efficient and war on corruption among his subordinates. Indeed, the whole subject is so involved that I feel I can only deal with concrete cases which have come to my knowledge, and leave your Excellency to draw such conclusions as may seem justified under the circumstances.

3. Said Bey, who has been Vali of Trebizond for about three years, an unusually long period under the present regime, is understood to have retained his post for so long in spite of the intrigues of rivals, owing to his being a personal friend of the Ghazi, who is said to have a great respect for his character. No one has ever impeached his personal integrity, but virtue is accompanied in this case by an almost complete lack of intelligence. No Vali could suitably maintain the dignity of his position on his miserable salary and quite inadequate representation allowance, but Said Bey, to his credit, does not make the attempt. Here then we have an individually honest Vali out of touch with tyranny and corruption, beyond a doubt are at least partly prevent and the various administrations under his direct or indirect supervision.

4. A recent decree of these two bodies seems to be constantly changed perhaps on account of their special (unpleasant) was a notorious profiteer and is believed to have accumulated considerable fortune from the sale of Government properties during his short term of office. The Vali is said to have publicly called from [illegible] his [illegible] could currently procure [illegible] on his salaries except by [illegible] strict [illegible] supervision.

5. The Trebizond Vilayet administration is [illegible] corruption, particularly so when it is concerned with [illegible] consulate even for official supplies but [illegible] is very general at least among the subordinates. I have [illegible] little instance in which I was personally concerned, when I returned to my post last month by Turkish boat from Constantinople, the [illegible] of his instructions waived their right to examine my baggage [illegible] but [illegible] through my [illegible] number of [illegible] which they considered appropriate reward. I may add however that the complaint known as [illegible] who goes on board the boats to set up the stores and drinks, playing cards &c., is most zealous in steadily refusing to accept bribes which at least in the case of foreign passenger vessels would be readily forthcoming.

6. The Trebizond police are reputed to be good at their work, and had until recently a remarkably efficient and competent chief in the person of Hidayet Bey, transferred from Erzerum Public Prosecutor to Kresun. The respect in which the force is held locally was increased early last year by the occurrence of a series of crimes in which several of the men lost their lives while physically discharging their duty in encounters with a horse-lift gang in one case and Laz vendettists in the others. The present chief of police, Nizamettin, is outwardly amiable but inwardly crafty and quite ridiculously suspicious, while his private morals are reputed to be of the most deplorable. He rarely arrives at his office before 11 a.m., and when wanted has usually to be sought for in some cafe or less respectable haunt.

7. During the very few days which I spent in Erzerum in August 1925, the only official with whom I had to do was a little old fop of a kaimakam brought from the Kaza of Tortum to act in the absence of the Vali, Zuhdy Bey, who still holds that position. I heard then, and have heard since, much about the latter's efficiency in general, but am unaware of any concrete example apart from the expeditious if sanguinary manner in which he suppressed the anti-hat demonstration, which was magnified into a revolt, and which had its counterpart about the same time at Rizeh.

8. Hershid Bey, at any rate the then Vali of Rizeh, gave palpable proofs of really exceptional activity in addition to the hunting and hanging of Kurds. His is still a name to conjure with throughout the vilayet, the little capital of which it was apparently his ambition to develop into a Turkish Monte Carlo, and it must be admitted that to some extent he succeeded. The natural beauties far surpassing those of Rizeh's European rival he added a landing stage fitted with a triumphal arch and a series of buildings of the gilt gingerbread type, including an hotel, casino, council chamber, dispensary &c., ranged round a place, order adorned

with weird and wonderful fountains and rockeries of cement and sea-shells. Of more obvious utility and, it is to be hoped, of greater permanence are the roads and bridges which he caused to be made and helped personally to construct, throughout the vilayet. He also had the brilliant idea of making the prisoners manufacture the esparto grass chairs and tables which now furnish the Seirisefain steamers. So stern an upholder of discipline was he, moreover, that his secretary, when discovered to have committed a grave abuse, was promptly dismissed. So at least I am assured on good authority. It was to be expected that such a remarkable exception to the general rule of Valis would have many and bitter enemies, and before long the latter won the day at Angora with the result that Hershid, rather than accept the consolation gift of Ardahan, preferred to retire to Constantinople. Of his present whereabouts and activities, for he is bound to be active in whatever *milieu*, I have no information. His successor at Rizeh is apparently a thorough-going scoundrel, who works hand in glove with a certain Metrijeh Mehmed, the local *agent provocateur* of the popular party, a creature with a reputation for general villainy probably second to none in the country. I may add here that the life of a decent Vali must be made unbearable by the local party emissary from Angora who although without any recognised official status is the real power in the place and no local authority can be independent of his influence or immune from his intrigues.

9. Sinsum had on my first arrival at the beginning of 1925, and until recently, a highly undesirable type of Vali in the person of Fahri Bey, a Greek, underhand financial [illegible] capable of [illegible] such was the impression he made on me personally, and it was often [illegible] confirmed from many sources. So flagrant were his [illegible] that [illegible] the delinquent [illegible] were actually convicted by [illegible] years imprisonment [illegible] local courts, [illegible] example of Turkish [illegible] justice. The sentence [illegible] to be [illegible] however to [illegible] reason was never known. During [illegible] I was in Sinsum a letter [illegible] Vali was in Angora looking after his private interests, and when I passed through Ilisu on my way to Erzerum [illegible] that he was Vali there. His successor, whom I have not yet met, is Essad Pasha, who was formerly colleague to Ismet Pasha, and according to another informant, [illegible] earlier period Turkish military attaché at Rome. He is both [illegible] improvement on his predecessor, and is at any rate gentlemanly, speaks French and knows how to behave in society, a qualification I have never yet found a Vali to possess.

10. It was amusing to read in a recent issue of the Milliet [illegible] Cerrest possède encore la perfection des lois [illegible] assurer le bien être général d'un pays et la bonne marche des affaires. Il faut aussi les hommes de valeur capables de bien appliquer ces lois. This if not the startling discovery Mahmud Bey appears to think is in any case a profound truth, apart from the question of the necessary perfection of Turkish laws. This district is doubtless also the whole country is carrying out for good administrators but if indeed the material exists and can be made use of, as the present regime the prevailing system of favouritism and espionage would seem inevitably to prove fatal to the production of good and lasting results. The Valis of to-day, underpaid, barely respected hirelings as they are, hardly calling their souls their own, mere puppets in the hands of the local party agents and inspectors on the one hand, and a capricious Central Government on the other, can scarcely be expected to do much more than they do under the circumstances. An impartial observer may well wonder whether Angora has really the cultural and physical well-being of the provincial populations at heart or cares even for their material prosperity except in so far as it may serve to fill the public and private coffers of the capital.

I have &c.

W. L. C. KNIGHT.

Enclosure 2 in No. 9.

Consul Knight to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 18. Confidential.)

Sir,

Trebizond, June 30, 1927.

IN my despatch No. 5, Confidential, of the 19th ultimo, I had occasion, in paragraphs 4 and 5 to refer to the corruption prevailing in the local defterdarate and customs administrations. Various attempts on my part to comply with your

Excellency's instructions (Embassy despatch No. 13 of the 30th April), by furnishing a separate report on the subject of fiscal administration have, however, remained abortive owing to the subject being one which has not come under my personal observation to any appreciable extent while the difficulty not to say the impossibility of obtaining reliable information at Trebizond, even with regard to much less delicate matters must have been experienced to be believed.

2. The boycott of local foreign representatives is quite as effective as if it had been officially promulgated and, although other foreigners are affected by it to a lesser degree still dependent as they are for their livelihood on the goodwill of the authorities barely one of them dares to talk freely of his experience of local officialdom or be seen more than very occasionally visiting or receiving the visit of one of my colleagues or myself. As for the Turks, I found out to my great concern that I had unknowingly compromised several of them by the mere encouragement of ordinary social intercourse. Even a highly placed military officer who constituted the only modern worldliness in the town has evidently been too afraid to bring them to return a call which my wife and I went out of our way to pay more than a month ago, as a tribute to their position and presumed social possibilities.

3. After this explanation I will return to the subject of fiscal administration only to remark that the new defterdar, the successor of the particularly corrupt gentleman mentioned in my previous despatch, is no more generally popular than his predecessor. I made use of this to mean only that while the one undoubtedly did and the other possibly does all he can for private gain, both are very zealous collectors of revenue where, as in the great majority of cases, the sums involved are not sufficiently important for profitable deals to be made with the contributor. Thus the great majority of citizens are apparently only vexatious certainly are hard pressed by the tax collectors who by their assiduity, ingenuity and arbitrariness fully maintain their traditional reputation. The fact that prospects of promotion depend on the sums raised is doubtless an incentive to forestalling contributions the right of better in time to time by the large gains to be made from such transactions as the sale of Government property or in the case of the customs the excessive fees on consignment in certain cases.

4. In paragraph 5 of my despatch No. 5 I referred in passing to an official of the customs the "Mudjest Mehemed" who enjoyed a rare and enviable reputation for honesty and who I had never been known to accept a bribe. I have since learned that this gentleman, Zekeriya by name, being as intelligent as he is, apparently realises that the quickest and surest way to promotion is to have an unblemished record in such matters. He has quite recently been rewarded by being sent to the customs school in Constantinople for the training of the higher officers of the service.

5. It has also recently come to my knowledge that corruption in the local customs administration is more widespread and, above all more systematic, than I had previously had reason to believe. There is apparently hardly an official not excepting the director (as distinct from the still absent director general, Nazi Bey), who does not in the regular pay of one or more local firms, Turkish or foreign. It must be said in justice to the higher officials that they usually take their toll in kind or in the form of treats in cafés or winnings at cards, as befits their greater dignity. But it may be said of all by way of explanation and almost extenuation, that their legitimate rates of pay like those of Turkish officials generally are inadequate to the extent of being barely sufficient even to support life decently in the case of unmarried men and utterly insufficient in the case of married men with wives occasionally as many as four children and other dependants which is the unenviable situation of the majority.

I have, &c.
W. L. C. KNIGHT.

Enclosure 2 in No. 3.

Consul Clayton to Sir G. Clerk.

No. 12.

Mersina, May 14, 1927.

SIR,

APART from observing that this region peopled by very rough, fanatical and primitive racial elements, is being kept in effective subjection by the present strong Christian form of government, I cannot report favourably on what I have seen of

the general administration here, though I am in a favourable position to notice any changes having served in the same district in the old days and returned to Turkey after an absence of sixteen years to find all under the new regime. It seems to me the same old Turkey in a different outward guise, with its officials galvanised into unnatural activity by the central driving force, fuming and groaning to apply all sorts of new fangled, foreign imported and half digested schemes and laws with their old clogging red tape machinery and ignorant and underpaid underlings, interpreting the letter and not the spirit of the laws and to foreigners and Christians at least, far more burdensome and obstructive than before. Bribery and corruption are as rampant as ever.

2. *Adana.* The Valiet Mersina, Abdullah Sabri, formerly Vali of Adrianople, is said to be well thought of by Angora. He has gone out of his way to help me in the very delicate task of re-establishing normal relations and strikes me as a stupid narrow minded and obstructive old fool very much of the pre-war type. He is directly dependent on Angora and often has to keep in check individual initiative. Though he boasts of his Persian scholarship he seems to be proud of his ignorance of any European language. He diurnally takes the road in the stalls during festivities which now play such a prominent part in the maintenance of the country and regularly makes a public ass of himself. I asked him whether the Vali was active. "Yes, he was seen last evening." The Vali of Adana, Reshid Bey, is a better prospect. He is younger and more active in his gait and processes, he is not so much a fool as a politician. He is a native of Erzerum and Turkish is not his native tongue.

3. *Posts.* The Turkish postal services are now at least in their natural element, revenue is collected, but is apparently only a trifle surpassing anything known in Czarist Russia. Under the supervision of Mersina's expert little tyrant and bully, Cordilly, cut off by foreigners and native Christians, on whom he seems delighted to vent his spite on slight provocation. No foreign or Christian is now from time to time allowed to pass through Mersina without a police escort, and I have recently reported how they were prevented last summer from leaving the fever ridden town of Mersina to repair its ruins. [illegible] Till the other day circulation by air between Mersina, Tarsus and Adana was free. But now aliens from Mersina have to apply for a special permit, and pay for it, before they are allowed to start. A respectable German engineer told me it took him four days to get a police pass to drive the 20 miles from Adana to Tarsus and he had to make seventeen separate applications to various underlings before it was granted. No one is allowed to board a steamer in Mersina Harbour without a special police permit on each occasion, which I have known refused to British subjects wishing to go ashore. British steamers. Passengers and all foreign shipping agents have their pockets and persons searched on almost every occasion both on embarking and landing. The Khedivial Steamship Company's agent, an Englishman, had to wait several months to get a special permit from Angora to board his own steamers. The other day a new police order forbade more than two members of the staff of each foreign steamship agency to board their respective steamers and it was only after considerable argument and delay that the chief of police consented to modify this ridiculous restriction in the case of the Khedivial Agency. On several occasions I have had to make personal application to the chief of police to allow British passengers on steamers touching at Mersina Island and go for a walk even if duly provided with Turkish visas. One of the individuals I have had to rescue in this manner was the private secretary to the Governor of Cyprus who was prevented from landing along with the Italian consul at Constantinople. These are only a few examples of those police restrictions to which I have referred in previous reports. It is instructive to observe that they can on occasion be evaded, as in the case of the English foreman of works of an oil mill here, who gets any permit he requires through a fellow employee, an Albanian bully and rough, who is a personal crony of the chief of police. I have before referred to the police spying which is carried to ridiculous lengths. Mr. Hoare and the military attaché were closely watched during their flea-orderings in a shape pearse here last autumn, and the more restful actions of the only two Englishmen of my acquaintance who spend their Fridays angling in the local trout streams, are now subjected to observation. My Italian colleague is keenly suspected, and I have no doubt that my own movements are all duly reported. Armed with these powers to restrict the actions of individuals, which though convenient means of bullying Christians and foreigners are not, I suppose, directly against them, the police now [illegible] by harassed [illegible]

are successful in maintaining law and order, which have probably never before been better. The town of Mersina is nightly patrolled by dour-looking night-watchmen armed with rifles.

4. *Gendarmerie.*—The gendarmerie are apparently an efficient force. They have widely spread posts linked up by telephone. Brigandage, though not completely stamped out, is much less prevalent than before. Except in certain remote districts, travellers may go about in safety.

5. *Customs.*—I have reported at length my own difficulties—which may be taken as typical—with the Mersina Customs, how the official effects consigned to this consulate were held up for months, how I have to employ a customs-clearance agent to disentangle every single parcel, what formidable and manifold documents he has to complete, how every single case is completely unpacked for examination and how an Officer of Works' furniture was smashed to pieces in the process. Though I dare say that by street severity of control in this heavy handed manner there is now less leakage in the exports at the port, I cannot praise the customs methods of the third seaport in Turkey, of which merchants are said to complain. The Inspector-General of Customs is at Mersina and exercises a good deal more than obstructive relative value. I have had opportunity to watch his purging and organizing activities. Laws he is supposed to apply and administer he throws aside, the most literal and rigorous interpretation of his instructions is given to everything, and the great weight which supplies his country with wheat is crushed. Neither he nor his subordinates, seedy little Greeks, two of whom have appeared in a social position in the consular world, a set of ragged minions on the quay, some of them literally with only half a boot to each foot. Passengers' luggage is rummaged in the most brutal and merciless manner, both on landing and embarking, as I have seen many a time with my own eyes, and it is quite an ordinary occurrence to be kept waiting three-quarters of an hour, as I have been, while a particular inquisitor or other pack-in office is disengaged from his particular *café*.

The port of Mersina serves a wide area. In 1926 a total of 323 foreign steamships, of which 82 British and 156 Italian, entered and cleared with cargo in its foreign trade. A better class of customs official and a smoother machinery are essential if this foreign trade, at present rudely discouraged, is to be satisfactorily developed.

6. *Coast guards.*—A new service ancillary to and dependent on the customs is that of the coast-guards or "kolps." These patrol on horseback along the coast, armed with rifles, in touch with the gendarmerie posts. The coast-guards are also provided with a small coastal steamer for patrol work. Their object is to prevent smuggling from Syria, Cyprus, &c., and I have no doubt that they are to a certain extent effective, though I am reliably informed that the men, being underpaid, often enter into league with the smugglers, who continue to introduce considerable quantities of contraband into the country.

7. *Port Administration.*—The officials responsible for the administration of the port include a "Director of Maritime Commerce," a so-called technical expert attached to him, and a harbour-master. The Director of Maritime Commerce was once a lawyer and had no previous experience of the duties he is at present required to perform. His is a more responsible position than that of the harbour-master, who comes directly under his control. He is most unpopular and, though he has only been in office since his department was created about eighteen months ago, he has succeeded in arranging the transfer of three harbour-masters to less desirable posts, his inability to get on with his subordinates being attributed to the fact that he is too conceited and self-important to allow more experienced men to offer him practical advice. He has incurred the enmity of all shipping agents here, both Turkish and foreign, by recommending a new and most unreasonable landing charges tariff, which came into effect on the 1st of this month, and which, if maintained, will seriously affect the agents' business. He is presumably trying to curry favour with Angora by such arbitrary measures, aimed essentially at foreigners. He is sadly lacking in ordinary intelligence, and is made to practical improvements in the matter of port administration, such as appointment. The only good thing said for him is that he is not very easily bought.

The captain of the port or harbour master is less popular than his predecessors. His official income is very small, but he is said to have no opportunity of supplementing it by accepting bribes. He is always [illegible] of a comfortable supplementary income during the export season of sheep and cattle. In accordance with an antiquated and [illegible] regulation, a steamer is only supposed to load a ridiculously small number of

animals, the exact number being arrived at by calculation as to the superficial area to be reserved for stowing them. Thus when a steamer arrives at Mersina to load, say, 5,000 sheep, the captain of the port works out some intricate arithmetical problem and informs the agent that the steamer can only load about 500. Only a substantial bribe will induce him to change his mind.

The "technical expert" has but recently been installed. His main duty appears to consist in assuring himself that steamers' class fication certificates have been properly renewed upon expiry. The Khedivial agent informs me that this individual is even more ambitious than others of his class in that he frankly expressed his willingness to accept an occasional bribe, but required a monthly retainer to secure his kind co-operation.

Amongst the port officials mention might also be made of the doctor of the sanitary office. Shipping agents say he is quite an agreeable individual provided they can get off him suitable presents from time to time.

It is certainly to be hoped that improvements have been made in the administration of the port, and even when suggestions are made by masters of foreign vessels, no action is taken. Khedivial captains have repeatedly sent in written protests against the lighters being moored too far out at sea, thus preventing steamers from approaching to a close anchorage. Masters have also protested against the fact that lightermen, when they have completed their operations alongside the vessel, only move away a few yards before dropping their anchors, which renders manœuvring exceedingly difficult for steamers in picking up anchor preparatory to leaving. Agents keep complaining that leaky lighters are sent off to receive cargo, resulting in considerable damage to merchandise, and that the lighters in the port are not sufficient to ensure prompt clearance for steamers if there are three or four vessels operating in the roadstead requiring them. This causes delay and unnecessary expense for shipowners. But, though it is the plain duty of the port authorities to rectify such matters, no notice is taken of these protests and complaints.

8. *Municipal Administration.*—I will include remarks on municipal activities under reports on modernisation and public hygiene. The Municipality of Mersina is reputed to be wealthy, deriving a good income from certain port and octroi dues. The mayor, Shefket Bey, a member of the Popular party, is about the most energetic and enterprising individual here, busy with the usual boulevards and improvement schemes. As a personality he is pleasing, but he is reputed to be a rogue. The municipal engineer, who has studied in Germany, undoubtedly is one, and is known to take bribes on every occasion. Much corruption is reported in the matter of contracts for roads and bridges, and I have little doubt that the mayor and town council, with members elected at the will of the Popular party, enjoy all the perquisites of a comfortable little ring.

9. *Justice.*—I am reliably informed and have small difficulty in believing, that there is no justice in this district. The judges are said to be utterly corrupt and the lawyers ignorant and worthless. Lawsuits drag on interminably, and no sensible person indulges in them.

10. *Bribery and Corruption.*—Your Excellency may be assured that my accusations of bribery and corruption are not lightly made. I spent two years in this country in the good old days, when the orange man of the Aegean consulate, a wealthy Greek merchant, used to make the Vali a regular annual allowance, and have subsequently spent ten years in various parts of Greece, the provincial administration of which might have been taken as a model by a place like Mersina, which, indeed, being formerly to all intents and purposes a Greek town, had every opportunity of studying Greek methods. A present day Vali would not dare to accept an allowance, but both Mr. Dawkins of Adrianople and I had to cut off Abdulla Subri Bey's supply of rare Persian books from Luzac's as his cheque was never forthcoming. While putting every obstacle and annoyance in the way of the Khedivial agents, the Vali, chief of police, customs and other officials continually require from them favours of varying degree, from weekly supplies of Nile drinking water from the ship's tanks to felt hats and suites of furniture from Beirut, and, in the case of one customs officer, a canary in a cage. The agencies are never paid for these goods, and have to charge their value in some cases to their principals to pay for the goodwill of the authorities and avoid worse obstruction in their business. An agent can always get a tin of tobacco or cigarettes by letting a customs official bring ashore two, giving him one and paying for both. Bribes are also asked for in the form of loans—which are never repaid. Only yesterday the chief of the

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

Manifest Department of the Customs asked the Khedivial agent to advance him £T 100 (refused). Last summer the same Englishman was faced by a request for a similar sum by the chief of police. He declined, and a day or two later was refused permission to go up to the mountains to recover from a bout of malaria. I have from time to time noted specific instances of the corruption referred to in paragraph 7 which have come to my direct knowledge, and can quote chapter and verse for them. Other foreign steamship agents tell me the same story, and all have to budget annually for "presents" to the authorities.

11. *Postal Administration.*—Letters from abroad come fairly regularly, but invariably have the thinnest wax seals [illegible] and are frequently gashed and slashed in a mysterious fashion as though by several sharp and inquisitive noses. Small parcels [illegible] one occasion I have proof of the fact that the contents of a parcel [illegible] England were partially abstracted. Though no censorship is officially [illegible] common knowledge that letters, especially from Syria, are kept back [illegible] at the will of the [illegible]. The handwriting of telegrams [illegible] letters is so [illegible] texts so often mutilated [illegible] have often spent over an [illegible] hours in the process. Business men say that it is quite a common occurrence for a telegram in a commercial code to be refused at the Post Office [illegible] the clerks unacquainted with Latin characters (or more probably, the expert at decoding) happens to be out.

12. *Direction of Agriculture.*—As the whole prosperity of this region depends primarily on its cotton and cereal crops which, with the wholesale [illegible] of the Armenians and Greeks who supplied the labour, capital and [illegible] the district, have been steadily lessening, resulting in a severe [illegible] trade depression this last year, a great deal depends on the [illegible] given to agriculture. For this purpose directors of agriculture [illegible] to the various vilayets, and a school of agriculture has been [illegible] Adana together with a school of agricultural chauffeurs. A [illegible] had much better expert advice and assistance before and, I suppose, [illegible] when there were numerous Germans interested in the development [illegible] the tithes, now replaced by a land tax, is a very notable [illegible] land to be brought under cultivation. Another valuable [illegible] a large number of Moslem Cretans who are [illegible] cultivators and more intelligent than the Turks. But, though this year's harvest promises well, the Government is faced with a terrific task in restoring pre-war conditions in agriculture [illegible] the most energetic and enthusiastic Turkish directors and experts [illegible] without foreign assistance and so long as they discourage, as they are doing, foreign industrial enterprises which directly encourage and assist agriculturalists. The Director of Agriculture of the Mersina Vilayet, Mehmet Sadiket Bey, Ingénieur agronome diplômé de l'Université de Paris, as he describes himself on his card, is an enthusiastic youth full of optimism for the future. He [illegible] which refers to his fatherland when excited as "Ce sale pays," and [illegible] with the best intentions. He most obligingly feeds on the catalogues of British makers of agricultural [illegible] which I supply him and has ordered mill owners to install various up-to-date British [illegible] some of which, I fear, they neither need nor understand. He [illegible] encouraging the use of mechanical appliances in agriculture, but deplores the perverse habits of the [illegible] his Armenian or Greek handyman in leaving his tractor to rust by the wayside as soon as something goes wrong with its [illegible] and reverting to his wooden plough. The number of derelict agricultural machines that one sees grass-grown on the Adana plain is indeed deplorable and is symptomatic of the general decay of this district which was comparatively prosperous before the war, and which has almost unlimited possibilities if properly exploited.

I have, &c.

R. E. W. CHAFY.

Enclosure 4 in No. 6.

Fiscal Administration.

(Enclosure in Smyrna despatch No. 37 of June 28, 1927.)

THIS has been touched upon previously in dealing with general administration. The Defterdariat is of all departments the most abused by Turks and Europeans alike, and probably the hardest worked in keeping touch with the unceasing laws, regulations, decisions, decrees, decisions from Angora. A proper comprehension of these enactments which [illegible] into force before time has been given for their proper study would require a brain of [illegible]. The minor official is not so gifted, and [illegible] the impression [illegible] of being in a state of complete bewilderment. [illegible] then that the taxpayer [illegible] complains of harsh or unfavourable treatment, and that the whole machinery [illegible].

2. In most of the recent taxes European models have been copied. Due allowance has not been made for the fact that the principles of other countries are to be applied to a country which is in a state of absolute poverty. The excessive requirements of the Government, but the new taxation is relatively so heavy that life is [illegible] impossible for the masses. The result has been that many Turks and Europeans have had to close down their businesses or to circumscribe their operations. The needs of the Treasury, which are said to be largely connected with national defence, are thus a hindrance to trade. So long as an abnormally large proportion of the revenue is absorbed into military channels it is the general opinion of the merchant in this country that there can be no real development or progress.

3. It is true that the export trade of Smyrna shows little sign of diminishing, and the Aidin Railway Company declared a year of unloaded-for prosperity in 1926. This is due to the natural resources of the hinterland of Smyrna, but the actual production of the country is a mere tithe of what it could be if properly developed, particularly as regards mines and forests.

4. Amongst Turks it is the practically universal practice to bargain and come [illegible] in matters of taxes and Government dues. A frequent and [illegible] well founded complaint amongst Europeans is the immunity of their [illegible] neighbours from certain taxes or the lower scale at which they are assessed. These observations are the outcome of instance upon instance which has been brought [illegible]. It is reported that in one quarter of Smyrna the [illegible] tax-payers tore up the demand notes for road tax and education tax and refused to pay them. No arrests were made and they were finally informed that they would have to pay next year. At the very same time in another quarter of Smyrna the property of British and of Italian subjects was being seized for non-payment of the same taxes.

5. In general corruption and favoritism are the order of the day both with the high officials and with the low. [illegible] be expected when a Commissioner of Police is paid £T 47 per month and the Governor-General himself only receives £T 300, as is reported to be the case at Aidin, or where the maximum salary payable to a magistrate is £T 100 per month, and his clerk is paid a wage ranging from £T 7 to £T 20 per month.

6. According to published figures the budget for the Vilayet of Smyrna for the year 1926-27 showed a revenue of £T 2,124,000. Towards this the road tax yielded £T 715,000, and the primary education tax £T 995,000.

7. The principal items of expenditure were said to be £T 700,000 earmarked for public instruction and £T 479,000 for public works. The amount devoted to public works during the first quarter of 1926 was given as £T 146,000, of which £T 30,000 was spent on the Menemen-Pergama Road, £T 25,000 for finishing other existing roads, £T 20,000 for the purchase of six steam-rollers, £T 20,000 for various repairs to roads, and the remainder for payment of engineers and other functionaries. As the credit was insufficient, it was decided to carry forward the item for purchase of rollers to 1927.

8. The press announced the following as the principal achievements of the vilayet carried out or approved in 1926:

(1) A five-year programme of primary education and of road construction was laid down.

(2) It was decided to add an anti-rabies section and a clinic for nervous complaints to the Memliket Hospital.

(3.) An apparatus for boring artesian wells is to be purchased.
(4.) A veterinary section is to be annexed to the Agricultural School at Bournabat.
5. £T 8,000 is to be lent to the Municipality of Smyrna towards the funds required for the improvement of the stadium.
(6.) Stallions from various outlying districts are to be concentrated at Smyrna and steps to be taken to improve horses.
(7.) An agricultural expert is to be sent to each kaza.
(8.) £T 3,000 is voted for the upkeep of the telephone system, which is said to include 3,000 kilom. of wire.
(9.) £T 40 per month is voted for the family of Malahat Hanum, who has been adopted by the vilayet and sent to study dentistry at Constantinople.
10. A donation of £T 3,000 each is voted for the Croissant Rouge and the Société pour la Protection de l'Enfance and the Société pour la Lutte contre la Tuberculose.

9. The total budget is said to show a deficit of £T 80,000.
10. These figures are given under reserve. They at least give an indication of the general interests of the Finance Department.
11. It is not possible to give an explanation of the actual expenditure and the revenue.

E 3806/173/44 No. 1.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received September 5.)

(No. 1.)

Pera, August 30, 1927.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 332 of the 2[illegible] last, I have the honour to transmit herewith a translation of the official text of the law which provides for the organisation of a special administration for the islands of Imbros and Tenedos.

2. This law has not yet been published, but the Greek Press has this week reported that the regulations referred to in article 20 are now being drafted by the Ministry of the Interior and that the law will enter into force as soon as these have received the necessary approval.

3. A superficial reading of the law leaves the impression that the Turkish Government have made a serious effort to fulfil their engagements under article 14 of the Treaty of Lausanne. Indeed, if the law as it stands were applied in an honest and broad minded manner it seems to me that the islanders would have little cause for complaint. On the other hand the articles are so drawn that, while administrative autonomy is theoretically accorded, such autonomy at will be reduced almost to a nullity. The instrument which can be used for this purpose is the nahiye, which is apparently to be invested with wide powers, and who, in the absence of any provision to the contrary, will presumably be a Turkish Government official.

4. Articles 15 and 16 of the law may also be so construed as almost entirely to destroy the Lausanne Treaty safeguards, as they accord the Turkish Government the right in certain circumstances to introduce officials, gendarmes and police into the islands from other parts of Turkey. In such circumstances can doubtless be expected a special local administrative council at any time that the Turkish Government consider this desirable for their own ends. Here again, therefore, the Turkish Government, by implementing the letter of their engagements, have made it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the Lausanne signatory Powers to protest against the non-fulfilment of treaty provisions, and at the same time have skilfully reserved to themselves what practically amounts to complete liberty of action.

5. It would appear that this interpretation of the law has not escaped the attention of the Greek Government. Some days ago the newspaper "Milliet" published an article in reply to certain criticisms of the law which had been published in the "Messager d'Athènes." These criticisms would appear to have been directed more particularly to the articles dealing with education and public order. The reply of the "Milliet" on both matters was much more specious than convincing and, probably from lack of better reasoning, consisted largely of a tirade

against the Greek Government, which was accused of seeking covertly to foment further trouble in the Near East, while outwardly giving expression to sentiments of mutual interest and friendship between the two countries.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 31.

(Traduction.)

Loi relative à l'Administration locale des Kazas d'Imbros et de Bouzdja Ada (Ténédos).

(No. de la loi 1151.) *Le 28 juin 1927.*

Article 1er. LES îles d'Imbros et de Ténédos sont soumises à une administration spéciale composée des éléments locaux, et chacune des îles est un nahiyé dépendant du Vilayet de Tchanak Kalé.

Art. 2. Les fonctionnaires qui seront employés en vue d'assurer l'ordre dans ces nahiyés seront nommés parmi la population indigène.

Art. 3. Il y aura un conseil de nahiyé, chargé de diriger les affaires locales de l'île relatives à l'utilité publique. Ce conseil est composé de dix membres sous la présidence du mudir du nahiyé et est élu pour deux ans. Celles des personnes, originaires de l'île, qui, conformément à la Loi sur l'Organisation fondamentale, possèdent les qualités requises d'électeurs, peuvent élire des membres à ce conseil, et celles qui réunissent en elles les qualités requises de Députés peuvent être élues membres au conseil du nahiyé.

Art. 4. Le conseil, sur l'invitation du mudir du nahiyé, tient ses réunions ordinaires deux fois par an, dans les mois de janvier et d'août, et chaque fois pour une durée maximum d'un mois, en vue d'examiner le budget de l'année suivante et le compte définitif de l'année précédente. Le conseil du nahiyé peut aussi être réuni par une convocation extraordinaire en cas où le Gouvernement central ou le mudir du nahiyé le trouve nécessaire.

Art. 5. Sont confiés aux conseils des nahiyés dans les nahiyés d'Imbros et de Ténédos les devoirs attribués aux conseils généraux des vilayets, conformément à la Loi sur l'Administration générale des Vilayets.

Art. 6. Des droits de présence qui seront fixés par le conseil seront payés, pour chaque réunion, au président et aux membres, à condition qu'ils n'excèdent pas le 1 pour cent du revenu total de l'administration locale de l'île.

Art. 7. Les décisions du conseil prises en contradiction de la loi ou en dehors des devoirs et des attributions légales pourront être annulées de tout temps d'office ou sur la demande par écrit des plaignants, par le Ministère de l'Intérieur, sur l'avis de l'assemblée administrative du Vilayet de Tchanak Kalé. Le mudir du nahiyé a le droit, par suite de la contradiction des décisions du conseil avec les intérêts locaux de l'île, de faire opposition dans le délai de quinze jours à partir de la date de la décision prise. Dans ce cas, les procès-verbaux des délibérations, le texte de la décision ainsi que la lettre d'opposition du mudir du nahiyé, seront envoyés au Vilayet de Tchanak Kalé et une décision sera prise par l'assemblée administrative du vilayet.

Art. 8. Dans le cas où le conseil commettrait des actes en dehors de la période et du but déterminés, ou s'abstiendrait d'exécuter ses devoirs précisés par la présente loi, le Ministère de l'Intérieur a le droit de dissoudre le conseil afin qu'il soit procédé à de nouvelles élections dans l'espace d'un mois.

Art. 9. Les revenus affectés, en vertu de différentes lois, aux administrations spéciales des vilayets et aux municipalités, constituent les revenus locaux afférents aux budgets spéciaux de ces deux îles. Les devoirs et attributions appartenant aux conseils généraux et aux conseils municipaux relatifs à la préparation du tarif du revenu local et à la fixation du montant du revenu sont confiés aux conseils des nahiyés de ces deux îles.

Art. 10. Les dépenses relatives à l'exécution des services locaux, mentionnés dans l'article 1er, ainsi que les appointements, les allocations extraordinaires et les salaires des fonctionnaires et employés faisant partie de l'administration et des institutions locales, constituent les dépenses locales, nécessaires d'introduire dans les budgets spéciaux de ces deux îles.

Art. 11. Sur l'avis émis par l'assemblée administrative du Vilayet de Tchanak Kalé, les budgets et les comptes définitifs examinés par les conseils des nahiyés des

illes deviennent définitifs par l'approbation du Ministère de l'Intérieur. Toute modification se rapportant au budget telle que remaniements, crédits supplémentaires et extraordinaires est soumise à la même procédure légale.

Art. 12. — Le maire d'Alahve est ordonnateur du budget spécial de l'île et le trésorier municipal est le comptable responsable. Les fonctionnaires en chef de l'île exercent pour le compte de l'administrateur de l'île entre autre allocation évaluée par le conseil, les fonctions de trésorier et de percepteur des biens de l'île ainsi que d'autres services avant trait aux recettes et paiements.

Art. 13. — Les institutions religieuses existantes ainsi que les biens propres à celles-ci seront contrôlées par les deux autorités appropriées sous la surveillance de l'administration locale et du contrôle national central à leurs communautés. Les institutions religieuses telles que écoles, hôpitaux et hospices des communautés, ainsi que les biens immobiliers, les cultes et institutions sont transférés à l'administration locale avec tous les droits et obligations, leur nécessaires et leurs droits et devoirs.

Art. 14. — Dans toutes les écoles officielles de l'enseignement public sont organisées et administrées par l'État. Organisation de l'Instruction publique et enseignement aux hospices et de la Ferme. L'Enseignement primaire l'enseignement secondaire public et religieux. Les parents des deux le fait enseigner leurs enfants leur religion et leur langue pendant le temps fixés en dehors des programmes officiels des écoles des classes qui seront ouvertes dans ces écoles publiques sont à la charge spéciale et à la charge de sa famille sont approuvées par le Gouverneur et les enseignements sont sous l'inspection permanente du Gouverneur. L'enseignement de l'instruction publique est confié aux inspecteurs et aux professeurs de l'enseignement. Le professeur est tenu de collaborer avec les autorités pour le conseil de l'île. Cette connaissance est [illegible] par le conseil de l'île et les pouvoirs du Conseil de l'enseignement public.

Art. 15. — [illegible] sont [illegible] et [illegible] et [illegible] et

6. Further the elevation to the dignity of Deputy of the Under-Secretaries for Foreign Affairs, Finance, Interior, Health, Education and Agriculture and of several other high officers of the two latter Ministries, cannot but have a beneficial effect on the legislative activity of the new Assembly, whose measures will, it may be hoped, be less wild, and unpracticable than those of its predecessors. As regards foreign affairs, the number of Deputies with diplomatic experience has also been increased, and, in addition to two trained Under-Secretaries for Foreign Affairs, will now be Zekiai Bey, former Ambassador in London, now at Moscow, Ahmed Munir Bey, Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, Suleiman Shefket Bey, Ambassador to the Hedjaz, and Nusret Sumbadh Bey, former Minister at The Hague, and a staff of agreeable manner and of some ability.

7. Finally, it endeavours, apparently, to put an end to the abuses resulting from the holding of Deputies of posts or sinecures, and other State officers by the subjection of Deputies to the conditions set forth in the annexed to the Glazier's manifesto. Whether these conditions will be strictly enforced, or not, remains to be seen; but, in principle, they only are to be commended, especially in Turkey, and they are, at any rate, a striking example of the manner in which the Chosen Assembly is divided, and of the entire country and administration, and moreover, which, in the life of the Assembly, it is to be erected, may be, for purposes to which, in reference, is place in the President's Foreign Programme.

8. Immediately after writing the last paragraph I happened to pay a visit to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to whom, as to one of the leading figures in the Dodecapolis, I mentioned, in passing, the reflections which members of the party were wont to allege upon to foist in their Deputies. Tewfik Rushdi Bey, with a smile, admitted that it was, indeed, to be feared that the reform was overdue. These Deputies, who were, in fact, their poor, for their pecuniary, a large, were becoming, not only, a drain, but, a serious obstacle to public work. 'Besides,' added his Excellency, 'there are other party workers who have not the good fortune to be Ministers or Deputies, and we must have some means of rewarding them.'

I have &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

[E 3811/63/44 No. 3[illegible]

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain (Received September 5.)

(No. 404.)

Therapia, August 31, 1927.

WITH reference to my despatches Nos. 421 and 422 of the 10th instant, relative to the action of the Turkish Government against the 'Friends of England' Association, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the list of the persons dismissed from the Government service on account of their membership of this association.*

2. This list, which has just been published in the Turkish and in the French press, is described as complete, and is presumably the official record of the activities of the commission, as it is signed by all the members of that body. Another list, about three times as long, is also being published in instalments, and contains the names of those who are being punished for anti-national activities other than membership of the 'Friends of England' Association.

3. Although the heading of the list now enclosed refers to persons dismissed from the Government service, the list itself contains many names of people in private life, but it is interesting to note that two Deputies, whose names were originally included, so raising the question of immunity, have now been omitted. Possibly the fact that their names are also omitted from the list of those who are to constitute the new National Assembly is thought punishment enough. An interesting discussion has also arisen out of the findings of the commission, namely, whether a lawyer or chemist is a servant of the State or not. It is argued that, since a lawyer in private practice at the Bar, he must be accepted by the Ministry of Justice, the lawyer forms part of the Administration of the State. This theory seems to make the career of an honest and independently minded barrister extremely precarious. A chemist too, must have the diplomas of the Ministry of Health before he can dispense

* Not printed.

his chemicals, a very sound rule, but one that requires some stretching to bring those subject to it into the category of Government servants.

4. The list in the form in which it is published is the first definite official information I have had as to the authority under which the commission has been acting. Hitherto such references as have appeared to its constitution have made no mention of any law, but have rather given the impression that it was appointed by the Deputies of the National Assembly of their own volition. The actual law under which the commission was constituted is mentioned in this list, for the first time. The text of the law (No. 854) of the 26th May, 1926, will be found on page 433 of volume 4 of Rizzo's 'Legislation turque.'

5. I gather that this law was passed with a number of others in the usual hurried sweeping up of outstanding Bills at the end of the 1925-26 session of the National Assembly, and, as such, it was with the Treaty of Angora presumably escaped notice at the time. I had, however, been aware of its terms when I wrote my despatch No. 422. I think it would have accomplished the vows which I ventured to express in that paper. I felt that in the circumstances the Treaty of Lausanne were going to protest against a breach of the obligations of Amnesty, but, as I have letter sent to me when the law was passed. That law has now been in existence for over a year, and, no doubt, it is possible that we have already conceded, in general terms, the objections which I previously suggested would, in consequence, be taken out of the province. It may be that it is not, after a protest from the signatories of the Treaty of Lausanne, to have not have even as regards gesture.

6. The above applies to the question in any general protest. There remains the question whether His Majesty's Government should take any action in the case of the 'Friends of England' Association. As I said in my despatch No. 422, such action is hitherto likely to benefit the victims, who, it must be remembered, called themselves 'Friends of England' not so much because of their attachment to that country, as because at the time it looked like a good stroke of business. In fact, they were more of a nuisance than anything else, and I do not see that we have any obligations towards them. But there is also the possibility of the British press or part of it taking up the case and thereby poisoning our relations with Turkey. Moreover, although I consider it is too late for any formal protest against law No. 854, which protest, to be effective, should have been made by at least the principal signatory Powers, I do not like leaving the Turks under the impression that we remain indifferent when they drive coaches and four through the Treaty of Lausanne. I venture therefore to submit for your consideration whether it might not be advisable to raise a friendly verbal intervention to the Turkish Ambassador. His Excellency might be told that the recent publication of the members of the 'Friends of England' Association has given rise to some misgiving. In the first place, the law under which action has been taken is hard to reconcile with either the letter or the spirit of the Declaration of Amnesty, and British public opinion will be unfavourably impressed. Then, although the Foreign Office may be ready to accept as true that the 'Friends of England' are suffering not because of that friendship but because of anti-national activities, our public opinion cannot draw so fine a distinction, and the general result is likely to be a check in the growth of that sympathy towards Turkey which has been so happily developing of late.

7. I suggest the Turkish Ambassador, because, even though no further action may be contemplated, great weight will attach to such observations coming direct from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and, as Ferid Bey is a sensitive channel of communication, none of the weight will be lost in transmission to Angora.

I have &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

E 3935/167/44 No. 34

Sir E. Phipps to Sir Austen Chamberlain (Received September [illegible])

(No. 1[illegible])

Paris, September 1[illegible], 1927.

I HAVE the honour, with reference to the Minute of Foreign Office No. 1038 of the 15th October last, to report that the case of the Paris and Court of Inquiry and Police of the Invalides to [illegible] the [illegible] proceedings against the French officer of [illegible] in connection with the

collision of that ship with the Turkish steamer "Boz-Kourd," had not acted in contradiction to the principles of international law, and that no damages could therefore be accorded to Lieutenant Demons, has been the subject of bitter comment in the French press and has caused general surprise and disappointment. The view is expressed that, although the French Government cannot criticise the judgment of the Court but must accept it as it stands, steps should henceforth be taken by the leading maritime nations to draw up regulations with a view to limiting, if necessary, the powers of the local courts involved in such cases. It is believed that the decision of the Court will not only be interpreted as a triumph for Turkish policy to the detriment of the prestige of France in the East, but will also give rise to numerous difficulties in the future if the officers of a ship are to be placed at the mercy of any country whose nationals may have suffered damage.

I, &c.
ERIC PHIPPS.

E 3972/619/44 No. [illegible]

Sir Austen Chamberlain to Sir W. Tyrrell.—(Received September 16.)

(No. 30. L.N.A.)

Sir, *Geneva, September 14, 1927*

DR. NANSEN spoke to me to-day about his effort to raise a fund for the repatriation of Armenian refugees. As you are aware, his latest plan had been one for paying the cost of transporting families of refugees to the republic where they were to be placed upon lands, which were to have been made suitable for settlement by works of irrigation previously undertaken by the Government of Erivan. He had endeavoured to get from that Government a clear and definite proposal to place before the Council, but they had replied almost at the last moment that they had already undertaken to deal with a number of these refugees coming from Greece and that for the moment their hands were fully occupied. This was the first that Dr. Nansen had heard of this particular project. The Armenian Government had further observed that they had already accepted one scheme which had been refused by the Council, and that they could not be expected to go on making suggestions which might be similarly refused, they would rather expect that Dr. Nansen should now make a firm offer to them.

2. Dr. Nansen himself urged first that the Allied and Associated Powers had given definite promises to the Armenian people to enlist their help during the war, that in consequence the Armenians had fought with the Allies and had suffered then and later a terrible retribution. The Allies had been unable to keep their promises, but surely an obligation rested upon them to do what could be done to help the scattered communities of this race who were now in the most miserable plight. France and a large number of these people in Syria who were in the greatest misery and on the verge of starvation. At last, the French Government were taking the matter up seriously and proposed to settle them upon the coast, and this would be their contribution. Germany, though under no such obligation as the Allied and Associated Powers, had offered a contribution to the total fund of £300,000 which it was Dr. Nansen's desire to raise, and with which he believed that he could settle 3,000 families, and he had practically a promise of £100,000 from private sources. His object in coming to me was, of course, to ascertain what contribution the British Government would make.

3. I told Dr. Nansen that, in consequence of his earlier communication, I had consulted my colleagues, and I regretted to say that His Majesty's Government had been forced to the conclusion that it was impossible for them to make any contribution to the settlement of these people in a Soviet Republic which, whatever measure of independence it might enjoy in its internal affairs, was in the last resort completely under the control of the central authority in Moscow.

4. Dr. Nansen continued to argue the question for some time, on the double ground of the obligations of the Great Powers to this unfortunate people, and the contributions which others were willing to make, and of the discredit which would fall upon the League if their long study of this question resulted in failure.

5. I could only repeat that I was not authorised by my Government to offer any contribution. My position was not a pleasant one.

I am, &c.
AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.

[E 4100/257/44] No. 36

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received September 26.)

(No. 486.)

Sir, *Constantinople, September 21, 1927*

IN the afternoon of the 14th instant the inhabitants of Pera, who adore the cinema, were given a taste of it in real life. Shots in the first floor of a house in a small street near this Embassy, and then police agents bringing out four corpses and two wounded prisoners. It appears that the police had, after careful preparation, rounded up an Armenian gang in their meeting place and called on them to surrender. The answer was a volley of shots from the Armenian revolvers which killed two of the police, who in their turn shot two of the band dead and wounded two others. The dead included the police officer in command, a first-class man who had organised the raid, and one, Merjan Altounian, the leader of the band. Altounian was an ex-criminal who had been in America, had there, among other things, done detective work, and had returned clandestinely to Turkey. His accomplices included a Turkish policeman.

2. The first public reports of the incident announced that the objective of the gang was a raid on the Yildiz Casino, for which they were said to have collected a [illegible] of apparatus—up-to-date burgling tools, masks, police number-plates for motor cars, &c. This theory was, however, soon discredited, especially as the first statement of the Public Prosecutor, when the press was already talking about Yildiz, was that the objective of the criminals was so far unknown. The press was quick to see that the hope of pocketing a few thousand liras from a hold-up at Yildiz, with the practical certainty of ultimate detection, would be a poor proposition for a really expert American burglar, and now takes the line that a more serious purpose must be looked for. Indeed, the elaborate preparations made by the police for the capture of the whole gang, and their readiness to sacrifice the lives of some of their best agents in the attempt, and the immediate and desperate use of their revolvers by the criminals when called upon to surrender, point to something far more serious than the capture of a gang of ordinary thieves. Moreover, the Casino at Yildiz had been closed by the authorities for contravention of the gambling law two days before the gang was caught.

3. Although nothing more definite as to the possible motives of the criminals has so far been allowed to appear, the obvious conclusion is that they were plotting against the Ghazi, and probably the police are still tracing the further ramifications of the plot and the remaining conspirators. Yildiz is not far from Dolma Bagtche, and it may be that the story of a raid on the Casino was intended by the gang to be used as a plausible reason were they unlucky enough to be caught in the neighbourhood with arms in their possession. That is a point, however, rather of police interest. What would be more interesting would be to know who were backing the Armenians. The incident, coming as it does soon after the attempt of Hadji Sami (my despatch No. 458 of the 30th ultimo), naturally suggests the 150 exiles, but I find a curiously general, though barely whispered, belief that in this last case instigation came, not from Paris, but from Moscow, where there is said to be growing annoyance at Mustafa Kemal's inclination to the West. Even if this is so it is probable that the facts will never become public, but events such as this and the attempt of Hadji Sami show how slender is the thread on which the present situation in Turkey hangs, for, were anything to happen to the Ghazi, there is no one who could be relied on to keep the country together.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 4101/402/44] No. 37

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received September 26.)

(No. 487.)

Sir, *Constantinople, September 21, 1927*

IT is clear that all is not as it should be between Moscow and Angora, though how wide the difference or what is the real underlying cause it is not yet possible to say.

2. A short time ago notices appeared in the press to the effect that Turkey was not going to renew the Turco Russian Treaty of Friendship of 1921, though no grounds were stated for this action. An official *démenti* appeared in due course, but, the Turkish press being what it is, there is no doubt that the original notice was intended to convey a gentle hint.

3. More significant as the fact that the Constantinople press is now turning its attentions to the activities of the supposed Communist agents in Turkey. It seems that a short time ago the "Pravda" published two articles, the first of which pointed out that there was a proletariat in Turkey, and that Turkey could not escape the anxieties which were the lot of all capitalist States, while the second article drew attention to the fact that the Turkish Communist party had abstained from the elections. The Turkish press at once reported that Turkey was very anxious to follow the path of Bolshevism, and showed that the rumours of the "Pravda" were far from welcome. Yesterday journalists did not concealed the interest of the Russian, the Soviet press would have liked to show a little reserve.

4. Possibly to show Moscow that the Turkish papers were serious the police have the last few days been investigating Communist activity. It appears that Communist pamphlets were recently distributed among the workmen of the tobacco warehouses near Arnavutkoy on the Bosphorus, and that the men were incited with success, to refuse to contribute to the general levy on behalf of the Anti-Communist League. Great activity has been given to the matter, three men have been arrested, prosecuted, and are awaiting trial on a charge of treasonable propaganda.

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8. Very little attention has been given to the trial of three Russians for transport.

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12. Very little attention has been given to the trial of three Russians for transport.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 4102/173/44 No. 8

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain. (*Received September 26.*)

No. 488.

Sir, *Constantinople, September 21, 1927.*

A young Greek girl, Elsa Negri, was waylaid near her home by a Turk of the name of Osman Ratib, who shot her dead in the middle of the street. The murderer is a married man of about 40 years of age, of independent means, and the son of the late Admiral Ratib Pasha, Abdul Hamid's Vali of the Hedjaz.

2. It appears that in his infatuation he offered, after failing to make the young woman his mistress, to divorce his wife and marry her, and had tried to brush aside

the family's objections to him as a Mussulman by declaring his conversion to the Jewish faith. His efforts being in vain, he finally decided to kill the girl when he heard that she was engaged to be married to a young Jew.

3. I should not have troubled you with this report of a vulgar crime, of a sort which is common enough here, were it not for its accidental effect on the position of Jews in this country.

4. The manner in which Osman Ratib continually pursued his victim when she left her employers, the Banque de Salonique, had become well known, and three times the police were appealed to in an effort to put an end to his importunity. But beyond a lecture of some sort, probably perfunctory in view of the frequency with which such pursuits occur, here nothing seems to have been done by the police, and their negligence in the matter may have had something to do with their subsequent zeal in directing the enquiry into other channels.

5. The girl was coldly shot down by the murderer and stung by the lash of his whip. The dead body of the street urchin who had led the pursuit was passing unnoticed, but the Negri's prominent Jewish parentage put it in a prayer to her street corpse. The street paper added poor little Elsa, may the earth lie lightly upon this Jewish corpse, and the Jewish organisations in the bank empires, the Jewish community generally, and together gave her a colossal funeral at which 25,000 persons were said to have followed the coffin on to which flowers were dropped from the Banque de Salonique, as the procession passed the building. Long before the street, all the street, the trees to follow the hearse were covered with people. Justice. Wednesday next.

The crime was particularly heinous in view of the insistence of the Jewish community on the protection and benefits of the Nationality Treaty, the murderer was given a well deserved prison sentence. Nevertheless, therefore, it proved the police were arrested a number of crowd and fired them before the judges.

6. Amongst the crowd was a group of young men who were called to have been accompanying the actual two Turks, but there is no doubt, the latter's sentence was shown from the beginning to be a farce, and he very quickly restored to the bosom of his family, and he very quickly restored to the bosom of his family, and he was consequently acquitted.

7. All the newspapers next day before the court charged with excessive conduct and showing great in the eyes of the Public Prosecutor, which proved an impossible obstacle to Turkey and its laws to be observed.

8. One in all they done the charge of having to have been accomplices in the crowd that were by the murderer arrested and committed to prison pending their trial, which is to be decided to-day. Meanwhile the murderer has been kept under watch by specialists and the general belief is that he will be proved insane and irresponsible.

9. The Turkish press has followed the lead of the Public Prosecutor and made of the incident as occasion offered as possible remedy against the Jewish community. Thus the meeting the Jewish community to a state of agitated suspicion against the generous country that harboured their forefathers when European countries were extracting the teeth, eyes and nails of the latter by painful methods. The attitude of one prominent leader writer for the Turkish papers, himself a Deputy of renown, is instructive. Up till now, says this enlightened man, after recounting the history of the crime, "all was normal. A mere passionate crime." But his anger against those who dared to take notice of it or to follow the coffin of the murdered girl knows no bounds, since by so doing they were insulting and belittling the civilisation of Turkey. Possibly a tender conscience regarding the attitude of the police contributed to this passionate outburst of patriotic fury.

10. Having thus established a solid public opinion, the Turkish Government has proceeded to turn the outrage to its own advantage, imposing upon the Jewish community in Turkey the same restrictions as regards movement from one place to another as have so far been applied only to the Greek and Armenian minorities. All three minorities are thus discriminated against, by comparison with Moslem Turks, in that they cannot freely move from place to place in the interior of Turkey without going through a host of formalities, which, besides being irksome, are apt to be extremely lengthy in practice and to mean much "bakshish" for Government employees. The Government doubtless feels that by thus keeping the Jews out of the interior it will please the Moslem Turks, who are said to be complaining that the

disappearance of the Greek or Armenian small trader and moneylender helped them very little since his place was taken by the equally cunning Jew Now the village will presumably be left entirely to the Moslem trader

11 There is no doubt that quite bitter feeling has been aroused on both sides The Turk who aspires to be a trader finds as shown above, that he is no competitor for the Jew The Turk who is concerned with finance realises Jewish power in this sphere and the fruitless journey in Europe of the Minister of Finance may have confirmed this impression Altogether, the Turks may feel that they have won their own country only to lose it Their resentment is gratified by a policy of official vexation. The Jews on their part are, with few exceptions, not so prosperous as the Turks claim They have suffered from the bad times, even if less than the Greeks and Armenians. In any case, they rightly feel that these prosecutions are without legal justification, and, if driven to extremes they will probably be able to exert such an influence on Turkish trade as will modify the attitude of the authorities But this is Turkey and quite likely the whole trouble will be arranged amicably, the more so if, as some Jews believe, the movement is really a scheme of blackmail designed to enrich the Turkish air force with a presentation aeroplane or two from the Jewish community who subscribed to have hitherto been [illegible]

I have &c
GEORGE R CLERK

P S —*September* 22 1927 —This morning's papers publish the verdict of the event and the Jews arrested in connection with the alleged demonstration at the funeral have been released except the soldier who has been convicted of assault Thus wise counsels have prevailed and is surmised in the last sentence of this despatch this being Turkey the trouble has been amicably arranged It remains to be seen if the Jews have still to pay a fee in aeroplanes or otherwise

I have the honour to enclose a copy of a despatch which has just arrived from His Majesty's consul-general at Smyrna throwing further light on the Jewish problem in this country

G R C.

Enclosure 2 in No 38

Consul-General Rabino to Sir G. Clerk

(No. 46.)
Sir, *Smyrna, August* 30, 1927.

I HAVE the honour to make known to your Excellency the comments of the Smyrna press regarding the incidents that arose in connection with the death and funeral at Constantinople of the unfortunate Elsa Nègo

2. The circumstances of the crime and the disturbances that followed greatly perturbed the Jews in Smyrna It incidentally had the effect of raising once again the question of the status of the Jews in Turkey As is usual in these cases some hot-headed Turkish youths were the first to give expression to the views they held by committing acts, which, although futile in themselves, served to indicate the animus that governs their attitude towards the Jews.

3. The "Levant," the local paper published in French, in its issue of the 23rd instant relates that the day before three young students of the École normale repaired to the Jewish hospital at Karataش, near Smyrna, and peremptorily demanded the removal of a marble tablet bearing an inscription in Hebrew characters and built into the inner wall of the hospital.

4. The answer of the secretary failing to satisfy them they left to return shortly after reinforced by a score of companions who, equipped with the necessary tools, removed the offensive tablet.

5 A similar incident occurred at the offices of the Jewish Communal Council where a few young Turks tore down a notice in trilingual text

6. What, however, is of graver import than these manifestations of ill-humour is the tone of the local press, which seized the opportunity offered to animadvert with no little acrimony on the civic shortcomings of the Jews

7 The burden of the complaint is that although professing their loyalty and devotion to Turkey they have so far failed to take any steps towards their assimilation with their Turkish fellow-countrymen The Turkish newspapers maintain that whereas the Jew in Europe is glad to identify himself in all respects with the

people of the country of his adoption, in Turkey he stands severely aloof in respect of language and general culture, and is no nearer the Turk to-day than were his ancestors in generations gone by. The chief count in their indictment is the Jews' ignorance of Turkish and the persistent upkeep of Jewish schools despite the many well-equipped Government schools.

8 Another side of the question, however which the local press appears or wishes to ignore is that the Jew is a Turk where military service and taxes are concerned and whenever local institutions stand in need of popular support, but as soon as the question of the Jews' livelihood is raised, or as soon as attention is drawn to his attempt to participate in the renewed economic activity of the country, he straightway becomes a separate and detached entity in the eyes of the Turk. He wants to trade up-country [illegible] himself a Moslem partner who, although sharing half his profits is a sleeping partner in the literal sense of the term He is debarred from employment in railway companies or other public services solely because he does not belong to the majority, and he can only transact business at the customs through a Turk

9. These and various other disabilities have driven, and are still driving, Jews out of the country The community in Smyrna has stood for many years at about 25,000, but within more recent times some 10,000 of the better class have left for Genoa or Marseilles. To the majority, Genoa and Marseilles are but stepping stones on their journey to Brazil or the Argentine, where, through their knowledge of Spanish they have founded flourishing communities Their place in Smyrna is taken up by Jews from up-country, who are weary of the vexations to which they are subjected in these remoter districts The moral and financial standing of the Jewish community is thus gradually being lowered by this influx, whilst the inability of the present community to give adequate support to their institutions is threatening the very existence of such institutions.

10 The agitation against the Jews would appear to be abating but [illegible] Turkey [illegible] the offenders [illegible] The indignation of the Jews at what happened at the Jewish hospital is [illegible] because the majority of the patients are Moslems.

11 It is to be said of [illegible] that the so-called surrender of their property rights the Jews have brought upon themselves the unfortunate circumstances under which they are now labouring, but, on the other hand, it is doubtful that any resistance they might have put up against the pressure brought to bear upon them at the time would have secured for them anything more substantial than moral support in their endeavours to benefit by the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne.

I have, &
H L RABINO

[E 4195/173 44] No. 39

Sir G Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain (Received October 3)

(No. 492.)
Sir, *Constantinople, September* 28 1927

WITH reference to my despatch No 367 of the 12th July last concerning the position of the Armenian communities in Constantinople, I have the honour to inform you that the authorities of this vilayet have expressed their official approval of the election of Mgr. Naroyan as the Patriarch of the Gregorian community

2 It is to be hoped that under this prelate's venerable sway the Armenian Gregorian community will find internal peace

I have, &
GEORGE R CLERK

[N 4644/315 38] No. 40

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 3.)

(No. 493.)

Constantinople, September 28, 1927

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that Lieutenant-Colonel Tewfik Bey, the First Secretary of the President of the Republic, has been chosen to be Turkish Ambassador at Moscow in succession to Zekai Bey, who becomes a Deputy again.

2. Tewfik Bey was well known to many members of your Department at the time of the Lausanne Conference, at which he was military adviser to the Turkish delegation, and in 1925 he was Turkish delegate at the Arms Traffic Conference. For nearly four years now Tewfik Bey has lived in the closest intimacy with the Ghazi. In 1924 Ismet Pasha wanted to appoint him to London or Moscow, but the Ghazi refused to let him go. That he has now been appointed means that the Ghazi attaches great importance to the proper handling of Russo-Turkish relations at the present juncture, and I expect that Tewfik Bey can be trusted to take good care of Turkish interests. He has been on fairly intimate terms with the Russian Embassy at Angora, but he would not, I think, allow himself to come unduly under Russian influence.

3. Tewfik Bey was born and bred in Bagdad, and his mother is an Arab, but he has identified himself with Turkey and is in the Ghazi's inmost counsels. He is barely 40, and professes to regret the conviviality of Chan Kaya, which has made him so stout. He is not married.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

[E 4287 173 44 No. 41

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 10.)

(No. 502.)

Constantinople, October 5, 1927

Sir,

AN interesting sidelight on the Niego case, reported in my despatch No. 488 of the 21st September last, was afforded to a member of my staff by the local manager of the Banque de Salonique. This bank consists of a group of Jews and, as the employers of the murdered typist, its directorate were keenly interested in the case.

2. It will be remembered that two years ago the Jewish community was persecuted for a short time on the pretext that its leaders had claimed the protection of the League of Nations against the Turkish Government in a letter written to the Spanish Consul. My informant states that this agitation dropped as a result of the plain words spoken to Fethi Bey, Turkish Ambassador at Paris, by one of the Rothschild family, as well as by certain leaders of Jewish finance in Great Britain. Fethi Bey reported to his Government that he had been warned that the Jewish communities outside Turkey were prepared to assist their compatriots in this country to emigrate and establish themselves elsewhere in Europe if the persecution did not cease, but that if this came to pass, Turkey might expect her only friends in European financial circles to turn against her and exert their considerable pressure to hasten her bankruptcy. He therefore begged his Government to put an end to the baiting of the Jewish community in Constantinople and his warnings had the desired result.

3. The anti-Jewish party in the Turkish Government, however, swallowed the rebuff with considerable reluctance and were delighted when the arrests at the Niego funeral gave them a chance to retaliate. They were successful in bringing about the restriction of Jewish travel in the interior of Turkey, but were brought up with a round turn when M. Naoum, who was in charge of the defence of the accused, was given an audience at Dolma Bagtche, either by Ismet Pasha or by the Ghazi himself, and the tribunal received instructions to finish the trial without any further delay.

4. Once more, according to my informant, the Jews in Europe had sent a message to the Turkish Government warning the latter of their power to affect Turkish finances in no small degree, particularly as the Turkish Government was and is in a difficult position, with its harvest a partial failure, its railway construction exceeding the estimated costs, and the coupon question settled only on paper, the revenues of Constantinople assigned for the extinction of this debt being urgently needed for other purposes.

5. This procedure may sound mediæval, but it is noteworthy that the prosecution which had been carried on with considerable vigour for a time, collapsed with somewhat dramatic suddenness, and the reasons for this change of front must have been powerful.

6. Ismet Pasha's letter to the president of the tribunal about the subsidiary prosecution of M. Pardo on a charge of having written contemptuously about the Turkish judicature and officials, copy of which I enclose herein,* is but lamely explained away by the paragraph inserted at the beginning. The Prime Minister's reasons for this personal intervention which began with collapse of the case against the Jews so far as the public was concerned must have been strong, as his Excellency is well aware of the hostility to the Jewish community which animates certain members of the Cabinet and too friendly to himself, who are currently reported to be waiting their opportunity to bring about his downfall.

7. My informant hinted that Shukri Kaya Pasha, who has been asked to join the board of his bank, was the source of most of the above information about the Prime Minister's intervention and that, moreover, the Ghazi had been privy to Ismet Pasha's action. He thought that the restrictions on Jewish travel would not be maintained with any degree of strictness and that the Jews would merely have to pay the [illegible] officials a little [illegible] their connivance at journeys or sojourning in the interior for the officials knew that the Government were not whole-heartedly in imposing the restrictions.

8. As an interesting, though irrelevant, piece of information, Shukri Kaya Pasha was said to have requested that his definite appointment to the board of the bank should be deferred, as he expected to receive shortly a portfolio in the Government—possibly that of Minister for Foreign Affairs in place of Tewfik Rushdi Bey. He had then stated that the only members of the present Cabinet certain to retain office were Djemal Bey, Minister of the Interior, and Abdul Halik, Minister of Finance.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

E 4288 257 44 No. 42.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 10.)

(No. 503.)

Constantinople, October 5, 1927

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that Mustafa Kemal Pasha left Constantinople for Brussa on the 30th September.

2. The President's parting words to the prefect of the city were that the welcome he had received would make him always feel the attraction of Constantinople, which is interpreted as an indication that the Ghazi will return here from time to time. The general impression is that he and the chief people in the Government will continue the practice of spending the summer here, although it is likely that the Ghazi himself will occasionally visit Brussa or perhaps some Black Sea town.

3. It had long been announced that the Ghazi was to visit Thrace and elaborate preparations had been made, but the plan seems to have been abandoned tacitly. The story is that the chief of police was unable to report all safe.

4. Showing himself freely as he has done, and appearing in the crowd without any fear, the Ghazi has certainly increased his popularity here this summer, while, since Constantinople is not a particularly squeamish place, the tales of his occasional excesses do not do his reputation any serious harm.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

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* Not printed.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

[E 4290/16/44] No. 43.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain (Received October 10.)

(No. 505.)

Sir,

Constantinople, October 5, 1927

IN conversation with a member of my staff last night the Danish Chargé d'Affaires stated, in confidence, that the Turkish Government had been negotiating for some time past with certain European countries for the purchase of war-vessels of the total value of approximately £3 million sterling.

2. The requirements of the Turkish representatives were as follows:

(a) [illegible] number of torpedo boat destroyers, or vessels of this type [illegible] delivered within two years.

(b) The Government of the country in which the construction takes place to guarantee the Turkish Government against seizure of the vessels before delivery.

(c) Payment to be made in twenty yearly instalments of £300,000 sterling each, or a larger sum (unspecified) against delivery and the balance in instalments [illegible] the remainder of the above period.

3. M. Malthe Brunn stated that [illegible] to recommend firms in his country to accept the credit terms proposed, and that the Turkish envoys had consequently passed on elsewhere.

4. He confidently expected representatives of the firms which had provisionally agreed to build the ships [illegible] the next two or three days, but he did not state to what country they belonged. [illegible] doubtful whether he knew this detail. It is worthy of note that [illegible] months the Minister of Finance and the Minister of A[illegible] visited Denmark. The Danish Chargé d'Affaires hopes to get [illegible] Government to lend a Danish expert for the Port of Constantinople, and two representatives of the Turkish Government are now studying conditions in the Port of [illegible] Denmark.

5. In addition an agricultural expert may shortly be engaged from Denmark, and the Danish Government is encouraging the Turkish Government to send students to its country by offering them special facilities.

6. Denmark is further believed to be supplying Turkey with machine-guns, as well as the plant for the arsenal at Angora at which these machine guns are to be repaired, if not made outright. Danish ships are sharing with Swedish bottoms the cargo resulting from the Swedish-Danish construction of certain Turkish railways. Danish engineers are in control of this construction.

7. Trade connections, fostered largely by Turkey's innate fears of the Allied intrigues of [illegible] between Denmark and Turkey, and the Danish Parliament, which recently abolished two minor posts, has agreed to the appointment of an independent Danish Minister at Constantinople to replace the Chargé d'Affaires, who has so far been in charge of affairs in Turkey under the direction of a Danish Minister resident at Berne.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

E 4291/4291/65 No. 44.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain (Received October 10.)

(No. 506.)

Sir,

Constantinople, October 5, 1927

THE attached article from the semi-official paper, "Milliet," on the Khalifat question may be of interest* particularly to Moslem opinion in India since it comes from the pen of Mahmoud Bey, Deputy of Sert, who is a close friend of the President. The writer may therefore be said to speak with authority when he notifies the world at large of his Government's lack of interest in the religious leadership of Islam, even though the Italian writer, whose utterances are made the excuse for this article, was technically right when he said that Turkey took part in religious conferences abroad, for it will be remembered that Turkey sent Edib Servet Bey as her representative to the Pan-Islamic Congress at Mecca last year.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

* Not printed.

[E 4292/257/44 No. 45.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 10.)

(No. 507.)

Sir,

Constantinople, October 5, 1927

THE incursion of Hajji Sami's band into Turkey from the neighbouring Greek islands, which was reported in my despatch No. 458 of the 30th August last, has put into the hands of the Turkish Government a very useful stick wherewith to chastise the Greek Government.

2. The press has [illegible] neglected to draw attention to the negligence of the Greek authorities concerned, despite the warnings with which the Greek Government was [illegible] warned by the Turkish Minister at Athens of the assembly of the raiders on the land and its departure for Samos, and the various signs of Greek lukewarmness towards the interests of its neighbour in this matter.

3. The press campaign appeared soon afterwards to be dying down, and the discussion of the relations between the two Governments were now considered to be sufficiently normal to warrant the return of the Turkish Minister to Athens. It was taken for granted that the incident was closed so far as the Greek Government was concerned.

4. But Mahmoud Bey, the fiery spokesman of the Turkish Government, to-day returns to the charge in his semi-official organ, the Milliet. He [illegible] apparently issued by the Greek Minister at Tunis regarding the [illegible] and by the Turkish press.

5. In his leading article Mahmoud Bey gives the history of the case, which is reported in full in my despatch number [illegible]. I need not recapitulate here.

6. The negligence of the Greek Government is, however, brought out, and despite strong expressions of pleasure the Greek Government appears to have taken no [illegible] action against his post and dealing severely with the local gendarmerie.

7. With some warmth the writer, however, rejects the statement in the Greek communiqué that Tewfik Rushdi Bey had indicated that these measures were sufficient to quieten Turkish public opinion. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs had only said that he was glad that the Governor of Samos had been removed as a prelude to further action by Greece.

8. In the name of Turkish public opinion, represented to be extremely sensitive if not excited about the matter, Mahmoud Bey now demands that the Greek Government shall cease to give shelter to such of the 150 "undesirables" omitted from the amnesty clauses of the Treaty of Lausanne as are now apparently established in considerable numbers in Thrace. Many of these enemies of the republic are said to be holding official positions as muftis, and Mahmoud Bey naturally accuses them of carrying on propaganda against the republic. He demands that they shall be sent to places far distant from Turkey.

9. Where the "undesirables" are to seek refuge if the Greek Government gives effect to this virtual demand for expulsion it is difficult to say, since no other country could receive them without offending Turkey, and the Turkish Government would certainly hang them if they attempted to return to their native land.

10. Moreover the Turkish refugees from Greece, whose property has been sequestrated by the Greek Government, are clamouring for the seizure of Greek property in Constantinople wherewith to compensate themselves for their losses. All the trade and means of exerting pressure on the Greek Government are therefore being used.

11. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

[E 4488/17/44] No. 46.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 24.)

(No. 524.)

Constantinople, October 19, 1927.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the recent publication of a Security and Neutrality Treaty between Persia and Soviet Russia provided the occasion for a leading article of some interest in the "République."

2. Yunus Nadi, the editor of that journal and the author of the article in question, took the opportunity to reopen the question of Turkey entering the League of Nations. His article follows the lines indicated in my despatch No. 291 of the 8th June, 1927. The gist of his theme was that the treaty which Turkey had herself concluded with Russia on lines similar to the new Russo-Persian Treaty in no way prejudiced Turkey's right to become a member of the League. "We here desire to lay particular emphasis," runs the article, "upon the fact that the Turco-Russian Treaty entails no restriction upon Turkey's liberty to enter the League." The proof of this, according to Yunus Nadi, was that the conclusion of a somewhat similar treaty by Germany did not prevent that State from joining the League shortly afterwards, and that Persia's membership of the League has not prevented her from signing a treaty similar to that concluded between Russia and Turkey. "If we have not as yet entered the League," the article continues, "and moreover, we do not at the present moment contemplate such a step, that in no way arises out of any engagement with a foreign Government. The question must be considered merely as one of paramount convenience, and as affecting ourselves alone and nothing can prevent us from joining the League if we see one day that it is to our interest to do so."

3. I am inclined to doubt whether this article was inspired by the Government, as the subject has not been mentioned in any other paper. At the same time, no journalist in this country, and certainly not Yunus Nadi, would venture to publish in the press views which he might have any reason to think would be displeasing to the Government.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 4492/257/44 No. 47.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 24.)

(No. 529.)

Constantinople, October 20, 1927.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith a memorandum by Mr. R. H. Harrow, second secretary of this Embassy, on the congress of the People's party at Angora, which opened on the 15th instant.

2. The congress has been entirely taken up by the reading of the President's historical speech, which was to have been made at the close of the last parliamentary session (see my despatch No. 341 of the 29th June last). It is thought that this oration, which must surely be the longest on record, will be finished next Saturday, and I shall hope to send you by next messenger a summary, as condensed as possible, of the most striking features.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 47.

Memorandum on People's Party Congress.

THE third congress of the People's party opened at Angora on the 15th October, 1927, the first and second having been held at Sivas and Erzerum respectively in 1919.

2. Held in the National Assembly building, with all the pomp and ceremony of an opening of Parliament, it was a notification to Turkey and to the world in

general that the People's party claims to-day to be the sole representative and interpreter of the will of the Turkish people, and that Mustafa Kemal Pasha is its one and only leader and chief.

3. Inasmuch as the Smyrna trials of 1926, with their consequent eradication of the only existent Opposition, and subsequent parliamentary elections, had left neither Opposition party nor independent Deputies, the congress perforce included all the 315 Deputies who will shortly take their places in the new National Assembly.

4. But it included also 200 other members of the party gathered from every part in Turkey, whose return to their districts and there to expound to each village and township the doctrines they have learnt at the capital.

5. From the mouth of the great leader of the party, the Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha himself, it was, therefore, thought politic to allow them to hear the history of the Nationalist movement from its very inception, so that Turkey's sons and daughters might, in their turn, learn their history from the desired angle.

6. That it was thought necessary so to instruct them in the greatest detail is an interesting proof both of Turkey's illiteracy—which makes it essential to pass on facts by word of mouth—and of the Ghazi's desire to have at his back at the present time the added prestige that this recital of the epic of New Turkey must surely bring to the creator and directing hand of the entire movement. With characteristic energy [illegible] he spared himself six or more continuous days of reading [illegible] nine hours a day, from a carefully edited and prepared manuscript, which it has been the task of his inner circle of friends and advisers to revise over and over again for several months past. So careful, indeed, is the President to infuse the right spirit into his words that until 2 A.M. or later, his friends are called upon each night to put the final polish into the next day's section of the speech, which starts at 10 A.M. For the compilation of this work such actors in the story as Fethi Bey, Turkish Ambassador at Paris and former Prime Minister, and Hikmet Bey, Minister at Belgrade and formerly secretary of the People's party, have been called to Angora and kept in Turkey till the congress should be over; every document of any interest has been collected and exhibited—where possible in original—for the greater convincing of the audience, and no pains have been spared to make the speech a historical narrative, at all events to Turkish minds.

7. To an expectant audience of carefully groomed Turks, each one compulsorily clad in tail coat, or at worst in a dark lounge suit, were added, by special invitation, the representatives of the foreign Powers or their secretaries, whose numbers—though limited to one for each Power—far exceeded the capacity of the Diplomatic Gallery.

8. The members of the Cabinet were grouped in front, the Public Gallery was thronged, and the President's box occupied by Fethi Bey, by the Turkish Minister from Prague, and by the Chief of the General Staff, Fevzi Pasha, whose presence was commented on as a proof of the solemnity of the occasion, since he rarely shows himself in public and is considered by most European observers to be the brains of the army and Mustafa Kemal's most likely successor. The heads of all Government Departments were present, and their work in the Ministries has virtually been suspended for the duration of the congress, while three of the President's "wards" smiled down upon him from his second box, having driven up in the presidential car.

9. The opening words of the President's oration were characteristic of the tone of the whole:—

"On the 19th May, 1919, I landed at Samsoun."

Thereafter and throughout the speech care has been taken to emphasise the whole progress of events as carefully planned and thought out in advance by the Ghazi and his advisers, to the evident wonderment and appreciation of the audience, who, for all their uncomfortable stiff collars and European clothes, could not, in large measure, conceal their origin and village mentality—a point on which the Ghazi is doubtless counting for the proper propagation of his words.

10. As already emphasised, the speech is primarily for Turkish consumption. The great teacher is instructing his faithful disciples, who in turn are to go out to the highways and byeways to spread the good news of Turkey's resurrection and thereby to make the villager, shopkeeper and landowner appreciate the debt he owes to the Ghazi and to the People's party.

11. As each successive event from 1919 onwards is sketched in minutest detail, to impress it upon the memories of the audience, it is but natural that references to the foreign Powers and their attitude should be frequent. It is also doubtless

inevitable that Great Britain should be the narrator's stand for the Allies in general. It is natural that the activities of the "friends of England" should be emphasised and that the part played by the Rev. Dr. Frew, pastor of the Dutch Chapel and tutor to Damad Ferid's children, should be magnified or at least narrated in great detail with many supporting documents, each of which was read in full.

12. In some measure the speech stresses the fact that the Ghazi and his advisers do not hold England responsible for these "nefarious and traitorous activities." The object of bringing them out so early is rather to discredit such exiles as Hamide Hanim, Enver and Damad Ferid.

13. But it is unfortunate that the Ghazi's advisers should not have taken into consideration the effect of this repetition of England's name upon the slower and less sophisticated minds of the audience. To many of these there is no doubt that England will stand out as the villain of the piece. So much indeed was the Nationalist thesis vehemently against England in 1919 that, in one of the supporting documents read out, the Sublime Porte was constrained to point out that the Allies were acting in concert and that England was not prepared to act alone in France or America.

14. There is, therefore, a certain danger that the speech, in the form in which it reaches the vast interior, may revive the erroneous impression that result in recrudescence of anti-British feeling, such as the Government and its advisers have of late stated their earnest desire to allay.

15. Greater arguments for such fears are of a certain kind. Greece, it was natural for an increasing share as time went on, but it was noticeable, insofar as could be gathered, that total silence was to be observed during the last three days, possibly a silent tribute to the shrewd blows struck in supporting the Nationalist contention with documents.

16. Further, the part played by all traitors to the Nationalist cause is being screwed up naturally, showing glaring colours the Sultan and his advisers are being asserted to be as much as possible unpatriotic degenerates and all opponents of the Ghazi are beaten, with the notable exception of Kiazim Karabekir Pasha, whose prestige among the Corps of Officers may thereby be declared to be still high.

17. A French summary of such parts of the speech beginning unfortunately only on the second day, was issued to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to the Diplomatic Corps and is seemingly identical with the summary appearing in the Turkish press. It is, however, but a very much compressed and poor reflection of the speech, the effect of which upon the Ghazi's audience and therefore upon the fortunes and prospects of the present Government, it would be idle to deny.

18. A version of this speech for European consumption is shortly to be published in book form by the Leipzig firm of Kochler, which also hopes to issue a Turkish edition.

R. HADOW

E 4613/257/44 No. 45

Sir R. Graves to Sir Austen Chamberlain (*Received October 31.*)

(No. 541.)

Constantinople, October 28, 1927.

Sir,

My despatch No. 529 of the 20th instant, enclosing a memorandum by Mr. Hadow, described the opening phases of the Ghazi's great speech, and I have now the honour to report its conclusion.

2. In considering this remarkable effort, which at first sight looks rather like the self-portrait of a successful dictator, the special conditions of Turkey must be borne in mind. Apart from Constantinople and Smyrna, it is a country of scattered and ignorant and illiterate peasants, with the vaguest notions of the meaning of the Ghazi's efforts for its regeneration. The speech was therefore designed and the time of its delivery chosen is the best way of instilling the elements of political education into the minds of the Turkish peasants. The Deputies and others to whom the speech was addressed will be expected to go home each to his own district, there to expound the story of Turkey's struggles since 1919, as told by its hero, author and of the political ideals which have inspired him during these crucial years.

3. The speech took Mustafa Kemal six days to deliver, beginning daily at 10 and finishing about 9 at night, and then, as reported in the above-mentioned despatch, polishing up the next day's instalment until the small hours. That the Ghazi should have been capable of the physical effort is some indication that his health is fairly good. Mr. Hebb, who attended the later sittings of the congress, reports that it was not till towards the end that Mustafa Kemal's voice showed signs of strain. For the most part he read in a moderate and steady tone, only raising his voice for occasional rhetorical effect. Similarly, his hearers were generally bored and somnolent and only roused to occasional enthusiasm by inconsiderate courtesy or genuine admiration.

4. In the accompanying copy of the Milliyet will be found a translation of the authorised summary of the speech, together with journalistic comment. If only as a Turkish document of the first importance, coming from the founder of the republic, the speech has an enduring historical interest. Considering that the conflict of the early armistice days was in reality one between Great Britain and Turkey, in which France and Italy were at most onlookers, it is surprising that the speaker should adopt the attitude he has towards England, as the strong Turkish national sentiment would be expected to be greatly roused by the arrogant disregard for the wishes of Great Britain, shown in the recent Mosul dispute, and the incorrect language of the strongest crisis the Ghazi ever had to face, in the years 1920–1923. Dr. Frew, the Scottish pastor, may, of course, have been responsible for the omission of the last three days' speech, but the Ghazi's own statement that Mr. Lloyd George's obstinacy made Kemal's task difficult, and the Ghazi has explained that he was not at first inclined to believe that the Allies could act as they did, and that he was hoped by the British politicians to be able to obtain the friendship of England. Association was tested in Egypt, and disappointed. It is to be observed that the Ghazi has sought to allay the suspicions of the British and England, and to assure them of the future in Turkish policy, and has insisted on the Turkish state, prior to the struggle for its existence, having been the friend of the Allies since the 16th March, 1920, and of the great Soviet Russia, which was the only friend of Turkey. Yet the Ghazi says he never forgot the treachery of the British officers in surprise among and killing the Turkish officers, and would allow the Turkish Government to be called the Turkish Government. The Turkish translation is not in the original Turkish version. Mr. Hadow's impression was that the references to the Allies seemed rather more temperate.

5. In referring to Armenian massacres, the President no doubt had in mind the United States, which Armenians have been a lively work, and to prevent the recurrence of the Turkish feeling. The Nationalists, he says, had to crush Armenian bands in 1919, which the Armenians started for provocative purposes. In 1920 there were Armenian massacres of Turks. Christians who acted quietly were protected by the Nationalists. At the end of 1920 intolerable massacres by Armenians led the Kemalists to the capture of Kars. This observation intended also for Soviet hearers.

6. Throughout the whole speech, severe aversions upon opponents who might possibly still give trouble. Its last section are Damad Ferid, who may be dealt, but the Ghazi thought it was worth while to invigorate against the principles they represented. Other Constantinople politicians come in for their share of blame. Marshal Ahmed Izzet Pasha, Salih Pasha, Ali Riza Pasha. One of these, Churuksuli Mahmud Pasha, a prominent senator, has ventured to suggest in an open letter that his patriotism was as good as the Ghazi's, but he is hardly likely to get fair play in the press.

7. But above all, the Ghazi has taken the opportunity of this historical review to discredit finally opponents who are alive to day. The speech is primarily and mainly for home consumption. There is hardly a member of the new position who is not shown up unfavourably. Halil Halil, Rechid and Rauf were ready for an American mandate. Ali Fuad and Refet objected to the appointment of Ismet as Chief of the General Staff, an appointment which events so fully justified. Refet's attitude to the now hated hard leader Cherkess Ethem was most reprehensible. Ali Fuad attacked the Greeks without orders and was defeated. Bekir Sami concluded agreements with Great Britain, France and Italy without any authority, and was against the continuation of hostilities in 1921. Rauf and Kara Vassif

(now dead) were also pessimistic. Kiazim Karabekir actually asked the Ghazi to resign the leadership of the People's party. Rauf, Refet and Kara Vassif all resigned at an embarrassing moment. Nureddin was overbearing to the population and only saved by the Ghazi. Rauf was for increasing the Caliph's powers. Rauf would not recognise Ismet's success at Lausanne. Rauf and his associates were against having the capital at Angora. Rauf, Refet, Adnan, Kiazim Karabekir and Ali Fuad all worked for the maintenance of a Caliph and an English Constitution under an Osmanli prince. Kiazim Karabekir, Refet and Ali Fuad tried to influence the army in these questions. Lutfi Fikri and Hussein Javid both wrote in the press that Turkey would be lost without the Caliphate. Kiazim Karabekir was guilty of inexcusable neglect in leaving without a chief an army in occupation of three quarters of his country. Even the Progressive party, he forecast, which was largely responsible for the Kurdish insurrection. Each member of the Opposition therefore has received his share of blame and it will be a warning to any who may be tempted to stray from the straight path of duty. But Mr. Helm confirms the impression left by the summary that it was upon Rauf Bey that the main weight of the Ghazi's condemnation fell. He was the villain of the piece. Rauf Bey, once the Ghazi's friend and collaborator, now an exile in Paris, is the strongest of the scattered members of the Opposition and perhaps the one man who might lead the country if the Ghazi were not there. It is natural that the Ghazi sought to discredit him thoroughly, but whether the weapon chosen will not be double-edged is another matter.

8. The whole gist of the speech naturally recalls and emphasises the Ghazi's achievements, but the language used is not unduly arrogant nor is the account greatly exaggerated. He describes how he found Turkey hopeless and helpless, without a leader and without an army. He describes his difficulties in the shape of hostile officers, traitors and false friends and his supporters. He describes the triumph of his army in Anatolia against the Greeks and his success at Lausanne. He implies very clearly that it was again and again his own resources which saved the situation, and his judgment which decided when the time was ripe for each move in the arduous and difficult steps in the development of the republic. He never trusted the Allies, never trusted Europe. He had even his doubts about the Allies' pity. His was a policy of reason, firm courage, strong and little discussion, and the realisation that existence can be secured only by struggling and by force. In short, he carries and indeed with justification that these strenuous but successful years of Turkey's rebirth are his work, though generous praise is given to Ismet Feyzi Pasha, mentioned with respect, and pats on the back are given to the Ms and other journalists who were then his companions in the field. The newspapers have indulged in absurd panegyrics, the "Milliet" going so far in an article on great men as to mention Mustafa Kemal in the same paragraph as Buddha, Confucius, Moses, Alexander, Napoleon and Christ.

9. As regards policy in general some of the Ghazi's remarks were interesting. His was a new programme—namely, to work within the national frontiers, to be carried away by chimeras such as pan-Islamism, to expect in a civilised world, human and disinterested friendship and mutual friendship. (The French version is not quite correct.) His denunciation of the Caliphate was most emphatic, no doubt because he feels that there is a lingering regard for it. "Even if other nations consider the Caliphate a world Power, the Turks do not. The new Turkey will think only of itself." This is a return of his which he recalled to his audience. "Those who confuse the idea of the Caliphate before us are the enemies of Islam and of Turkey." Turkey was another. The retention of Islam as the State religion was a concession to the feeling of a few years ago but it would be abolished on the first occasion. The abolition of fezes, of tekkies, the introduction of the Swiss Civil Code and the whole policy of laicisation and modernisation the Ghazi dismissed in a few words. He recommended future generations to make very sure of the men to whom they entrusted their fate.

10. Towards the close of the first session the Ghazi's voice became so Mr. Helm informs me almost inaudible but he pulled himself together for a peroration addressed to the youth of the country on the duty incumbent on them of saving the republic even in the face of an invader and this so moved his hearers and himself that he and most of them were in tears.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

[E 4614/257/44] No. 49

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 31.)

(No. 535.)
Sir, *Constantinople, October 26, 1927*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith an extract from the "Stamboul" of the 24th instant,* containing a statement of the Popular party's programme as laid down by the Ghazi and announced by Ismet Pasha. There is nothing very new in it. Importance is attached to economic development, to a balanced budget, to the maintenance of the value of the currency and to public security. Measures are to be taken for the preservation of the family in view of the importance of the question of population, which has long preoccupied the Government and is now publicly admitted. The announcement that a State bank is to be founded as soon as possible while far from unexpected is a discouraging for the Ottoman Bank.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

E 4615/4066/44 No. 50

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 31.)

(No. 536.)
Sir, *Constantinople, October 26, 1927*

SOME weeks ago Constantinople was surprised and amused to learn that the "Municipal Casino of Yildiz" had been raided at midnight by a considerable force of police under the personal direction of the Public Prosecutor, that the names and addresses of all those in the gambling rooms had been taken, and that they, with the lessee of the casino, an Italian, one Mario Serra, were to be brought to trial.

2. The case duly came on, and Mario Serra was able to prove in the middle fashion that his thirty years' contract with the municipality for the opening of a casino in Abdul Hamid's old palace definitely authorised the organisation of gambling. This disposed of the principal charge against him and against the persons caught "flagrante delicto" as the local press had it, who were not Turkish subjects. The subsidiary charge was that even if gambling was permitted by his contract, Turkish citizens were not to be admitted to the rooms. But again another examination of the contract proved conclusively that there was no such clause, and that the only persons who were not allowed access to the rooms were officers, officials and minors. The prosecution attempted to make some play with this, but once more the defence had documentary evidence showing that the municipality had undertaken responsibility for the enforcement of this regulation. In due course, therefore, all the players were acquitted. Mario Serra was condemned, for reasons which are not obvious to the layman, to a week's imprisonment and to a fine of £T. 25 under article 526 of the Penal Code for failure to obey an order legally given. The sentence is, however, being remitted under article 89 on the ground "that his past and his social position indicate that he is not a man who is likely to act in this manner in the future." Furthermore, the casino may be reopened.

3. This bald account of the prosecution, which was evidently bound to fail, naturally provokes the question, "Why was it ever instituted?" Rumour has naturally been busy, and rumour has, as is inevitable in Turkey, suggested Mario Serra had failed to bribe the right people and that a vexatious prosecution had been considered a suitable punishment. I think, however, that these rumours can be set aside, and that we must go back to the murder of Archbishop Becket for an explanation. It was observed, immediately after the casino was raided, that the Ghazi, who had been to most of the public resorts at Constantinople, did not once set foot in Yildiz during his stay here, and I have lately heard from one of the Italian secretaries that it is practically certain that in a moment of impatience, and possibly of imperfect sobriety, the Ghazi gave orders that the casino was to cease its existence. "Who," he might almost have exclaimed, "will rid me of this pestilential casino which is a blot on our civilisation!" And so the Public Prosecutor rode forth to inevitable disaster in the courts.

* Not printed.

4. There may be an appeal, and the municipal controllers may be prosecuted for an alleged failure to exclude officials and minors, and so, if the Ghazi is in serious earnest in his dislike of the existence of public gambling in Turkey, the resources of civilisation are not necessarily exhausted. This, however, is of little interest. What is of interest, if my story is true, as I believe it to be, is that Turkish officialdom is prepared to make itself ridiculous at the slightest word uttered by the Ghazi. We frequently suspect that administrative blunders are due to blundering attempts to interpret the Ghazi's mind, and the present incident is a good example of this unselfish spirit.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 4261/402/44] No. 51

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received October 31.)

(No. 539.) *Constantinople, October 27, 1927*

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that a notice appeared in all the Turkish press on the 27th October to the effect that at the invitation of the Soviet Government a Turkish delegation composed of Saveti Bey, secretary-general of the People's Republican party, Kiliçli Ali Bey, Deputy for Ghazi, Ahmet Muhtar Bey, Deputy for Seerdt, and Neshet Hakki Bey, principal of the university, will leave for Leningrad to take part in the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Soviet revolution on the 7th November.

2. I have thought fit to report this announcement as it is probable that the true purpose of the delegation's visit is other than that published in the press.

3. As you are aware, there have of late been indications of friction or misunderstanding between Turkey and Soviet Russia, and the visit of the Soviet Ambassador at Rome to Angora, in company with M. Souritz, at the time of the opening of the congress of the People's party, was proclaimed as a special mission for the removal of these differences. This return visit, following as it does on the heels of M. Kameneff's trip to Angora, and the importance of the Deputies chosen—who include three of those in closest touch with the President—suggest something more than a mere coincidence.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 4715/173/44] No. 52

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 544.) *Constantinople, November 2, 1927*

Sir,

IN my despatches Nos. 488 of the 21st September and 502 of the 5th October I had the honour to draw your attention to the effect produced by the Niégo case upon the attitude of the Turkish authorities to the Jewish population in this country. As the question seemed to me of some importance, I requested His Majesty's consular officers throughout the country to report any repercussions that might be observed in their consular districts, and I now have the honour to inform you of the situation as it appears in the light of the reports I have received.

2. The spirit of the matter would appear to be that Smyrna is living up to its reputation of carrying anti-foreign feeling to the furthest lengths. In this connection I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of a further despatch from Mr. Rabino showing the kind of petty annoyances to which the Jews in his district are being subjected. Not dissimilar is the situation in Adrianople, as is illustrated in a despatch from Mr. Dawkins, of which I have the honour to enclose a copy herein.

3. Elsewhere the position of Jews appears to be less affected, possibly owing to the fact that their numbers are not of sufficient importance to rouse the animosity of the authorities and local patriots. In the Trebizond area, for instance, there is nothing in the nature of a Jewish community, and Mr. Knight reports that he has

never heard of any Jew in his consular district having had to suffer as such. In Mersina and Adana the number of Jewish adults all told does not exceed 200, most of them fairly prosperous small traders and merchants. Mr. Scott reports that there have been no disturbances or violence of any kind in his district, and that he has noticed no signs of anti-Jewish activity on the part of the local authorities beyond the imposition of certain restrictions as regards travelling. While in this respect the authorities are very severe, there is no sign that they are preparing to extend to the Jews the treatment meted out to other non-Turkish minorities.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure 1 in No. 52

Consul-General Rabino to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 49.) *Smyrna, September 17, 1927.*

Sir,

IN continuation of my despatch No. 46 of the 30th August regarding the attitude of the authorities in Smyrna towards the Jews, as the result of the flight upon the murder of Elsa Niégo, I have the honour to bring to your notice a few instances of the vexatious and oppressive measures that are now being exercised against them.

2. A Jew from up-country, suffering from anthrax in the cheek, recently applied for a permit to come up to Smyrna for medical treatment. He was told by the local official that, as the regulations restricting the movements of the Jews had not yet been promulgated, he could freely travel to Smyrna without one. On his arrival here, however, he was kept in prison for three days in callous disregard of his sufferings, and was allowed to see his doctor as his cheek was becoming gangrenous.

3. A lady suffering from a tumour on the appendix and a man with cancer in an advanced stage are at present unable to obtain leave to proceed to Europe for an operation.

4. A Jew who went to Constantinople for a few days, is being detained there in spite of the production of evidence to show that he is a resident in Smyrna and that he is anxious to return home because of his wife's expected confinement.

5. In addition to this the Jews have to put up with other vexations. For instance, the students of the Ecole normale have taken to pursuing them into cafés and other places of public resort, and forbidding them the use of their own language (*i.e.*, Spanish). There have been cases when some of these ardent young Nationalists have gone the length of entering Jewish homes and ordering the inmates to speak Turkish.

6. Everything tends to show that the Turkish authorities are making full use of the eagerly awaited opportunity to hinder the Jews in their lawful avocations and otherwise molest them, with a view to diverting into Moslem channels every form of activity whereby they have hitherto earned a livelihood or enriched themselves.

I have, &c.
H. L. RABINO

Enclosure 2 in No. 52

Consul Dawkins to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 36.) *Adrianople, September 20, 1927.*

Sir,

WITH further reference to my despatch No. 34 of the 12th instant, regarding the treatment of the Jews, I have the honour to report that the present policy of harassing them in petty ways seems to continue, thus for example the other day their meat-shops were visited by officials and the meat was dragged out, covered with parafin and then put on the dust carts. The reason given so far as I have been able to understand it, was that the Jews should not sell on Sunday meat which they had refused to sell on Saturday, their day of rest. Similarly Jewish cab drivers, if they wanted to work on Friday, were required to undertake to work on Saturday as well. If they did not give such an undertaking, they were prevented from working on both those days, on pain of a fine of £T 50.

2. These somewhat childish measures do not seem, as yet at any rate, seriously to have affected the commercial life of the district, but if they are continued, it is to be feared that they must inevitably do so.

I have, &c.
J. McG. DAWKINS

[E 4717/257/44] No. 53.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 546.)
Angora, October 30, 1927.

SIR,

THE fourth anniversary of the foundation of the Turkish Republic was celebrated at Angora on the 29th October. The ceremonial was on the same lines as in previous years: a reception by the President of the Republic of the Cabinet, Turkish officials and notabilities and the Diplomatic Corps, followed by a review of the Angora garrison and a march past of students, boy scouts and guilds. In the evening a subscription ball held in aid of the "Foyer Turc" was attended by the President.

2. Mustafa Kemal Pasha appeared in good health, and I was able, in all conscience, to congratulate his Excellency on the remarkable way in which his constitution had stood the strain of the past year.

3. The proceedings of the Turkish Foreign Department seem to be slowly acquiring a modest efficiency. In comparison with previous experiences the reception was conducted smoothly and expeditiously. It was only after the President's departure that the accustomed chaos revived and the Diplomatic Corps were left to struggle out in their motor cars through a good tempered but quite unregulated mob.

4. The military part of the review passed off well; the physique and equipment of the troops were, on the whole, good. The civilian march past showed that there are still lacunæ in the westernisation of Turkey. The students, girl guides and boy scouts, who, in general, were much as those elsewhere, were followed by groups of athletes, "sportsmen," and representatives of the trades, whose curious get-up and shambling gait are still far behind the standards of the less-aspiring European village.

5. The ball, which I and my staff were precluded from attending by the Court mourning, was, I understand from my colleagues, undistinguished by any of those incidents which have been such a feature of social life at Angora in the past. Proceedings were, I gather, dully and rather disappointingly correct at least until the Diplomatic Body retired about 2 A.M. But as the Minister for Foreign Affairs has just—4.30 P.M.—had to excuse himself from the interview arranged for me to-day at 5 o'clock, on the ground that he left the ball at 7 this morning and is still suffering from a severe headache, it is possible that the end of the festivity was in accord with Angora tradition.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

E 4719/257/44 No. 54.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 551.)
Constantinople, November 3, 1927.

SIR,

IN accordance with the practice laid down by the Turkish Constitution the new Grand National Assembly met on the 1st instant. I attended with Mr. Knox, and many members of the Diplomatic Corps were present. The Deputies, after taking the oath, re-electing Kiazim Pasha to be president of the Assembly, and choosing its other officers, proceeded to the main business of the day, the election of a President of the Republic. Mustafa Kemal was, of course, chosen with unanimity and enthusiasm by the 288 Deputies present.

2. After lunch I attended again with my colleagues, this time in uniform. The Ghazi took the oath prescribed for a new President, and then made a short

speech expressing his thanks, his determination to work for the country, and his confidence in the future activities of the Assembly. After this the President of the Republic withdrew to his official rooms and received the congratulations, first, of the Cabinet and of the officials of the Assembly, and then of the heads of foreign missions.

3. Later in the day Ismet Pasha's Cabinet resigned as required by the Constitution. The Ghazi has called upon the Pasha to form a new Cabinet, and the following changes have been made. The present Minister of Finance becomes Minister of Defence, the Ministry of Marine being once more incorporated in the Ministry of Defence, and under-secretaries being appointed for army, navy and air. This change is not unexpected, as Rejeb Bey, the Minister of Defence, was believed to have lost favour owing to differences with Ismet Pasha, and Ihsan Bey (the Minister of Marine) had fulfilled the only function for which he was believed to be qualified, namely, the ruthless weeding-out from the navy of any sympathy with the former Opposition. Abdul Halik Bey, who is to take over the Ministry of Defence, is a good organiser; but his place at the Ministry of Finance is to be taken by Sarrajoglu Shukri Bey, which seems a poor appointment, as Sarrajoglu Shukri Bey (present Turkish delegate on the Turco-Greek Exchange Commission and delegate for the Anatolian Railway negotiations) has little qualification for this important post, and is beyond average intelligence. The two other changes are that Shukri Kaya becomes the Interior from Jemil Bey, who probably returns to the important post of secretary-general of the Popular party, and that Sabri Bey, the Minister of Agriculture, hands his portfolio over to the Minister of Commerce. This latter change is probably to be accounted for by Sabri Bey's old friendship with Raif Bey, whom the Ghazi denounced so vehemently in his long speech.

4. Tewfik Rushdi Bey thus remains in the saddle, and two of the men who seemed most likely to succeed him, Shukri Kaya and Sarrajoglu Shukri, are given other employment. On the whole, the changes are probably for the better, but Rejeb is a strong man whom it will be interesting to watch consolidate.

5. The full list of the Cabinet is the above as follows:

Prime Minister: Ismet Pasha.
Justice: Mahmud Essad Bey.
Defence: Mustafa Abdul Halik Bey.
Interior: Shukri Kaya Bey.
Foreign Affairs: Tewfik Rushdi Bey.
Finance: Sarrajoglu Shukri Bey.
Public Instruction: Mustafa Necati Bey.
Public Works: Behij Bey.
Agriculture and, temporarily, Commerce: Rahmi Bey.
Health: Refik Bey.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

[E 4840/257/44] No. 55.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 14.)

(No. 555.)
Constantinople, November 9, 1927.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that on the 5th November the President of the Council announced the general policy of his new Cabinet before the National Assembly. An extract from the "Milliet" of the 6th November recording Ismet Pasha's speech is enclosed herein.*

2. As regards general policy, whether internal or external, Ismet Pasha had little to add to the recent pronouncements defining the Popular party's programme. His remarks regarding the situation in the Eastern vilayets are deserving of some attention if only for the mis-statements which he found necessary to prove his case. In fact, he protested too much, and, in his eagerness to demonstrate his total freedom from anxiety, he leaves the contrary impression. The recent telegram from His Majesty's consul at Aleppo stating that a Turkish delegation is seeking extra facilities for the transport of troops by rail to Kurdistan is a significant commentary

* Not printed.

on Ismet Pasha's boast that the local garrisons and police have been sufficient to cope with the situation. Nor is he happier in his reference to the census as evidence of the normal functioning of the administration in the furthest recesses of the country, it being a matter of common knowledge that census operations were not possible in the eastern districts.

3. On the subject of the census in general I am addressing you in a separate despatch, and I will merely draw your attention here to the Prime Minister's announcement of its result and to the long applause with which the "14 millions" was greeted.

4. Ismet Pasha concluded his speech with remarks of a general character on economics and finance, the only statement of importance being that in regard to the State Bank. It will be observed that the Government are in hopes of setting up this institution within the next two or three months.

5. Finally, the Assembly obediently granted the new Government a unanimous vote of confidence.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

[E 4842/1479/44] No. 56

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 14.)

No. 557.) *Constantinople, November 9, 1927.*

Sir,

MORE than two months ago the Government began announcing that the first census of Turkey would be held on the 28th ultimo, and that it was the solemn duty of every head of a family to answer truly the questions put to him by the census officials on that day. The strictest orders were likewise issued to the civil administration. These injunctions, reinforced by a public exhortation of Ismet Pasha, were constantly repeated. In fact all possible steps were taken to carry out a thorough census. As Tewfik Rushdi Bey himself told me, M. Jacquart, the Belgian statistical specialist, was given dictatorial powers for the day. Knowing that the mere leaving of blank forms from house to house would not produce accurate returns among a population accustomed to associate such enquiries with conscription and taxation, M. Jacquart adopted the expedient of keeping everybody indoors. No one was to go out on the 28th until a gun fired. Census officers were to go from house to house in each town, and when they had finished a gun was to give the signal of release.

2. So far as my information goes at present, the operation was carried out efficiently. In Angora it was over in about six hours. Personally, I happened to be travelling in the train to Angora at the time, and though for some reason the train, as I was warned would be the case, was held up for five hours, the actual counting of the two hundred odd passengers in it only took about two hours. Constantinople, I am told, was like a city of the dead. Instead of the usual rumbling of carts and intermittent hooting of cars, there was no louder sound than the crowing of cocks, the interminable repetition of gramophone tunes, and the miaouing of cats. The Mr. Hoare whom the zeal of the Vali denied even a permit for his chauffeur, met on his walk from his house to this Embassy nobody but policemen on duty in empty streets. The corporate life of the city was entirely suspended until 10 o'clock at night.

3. The result of this remarkable experiment is shown in the appended note. The total population of Turkey is given as almost 14 millions, and it is a curious thing that 14 millions is the figure which Turkish officials have for the last few years been giving in reply to casual enquiries. I know that Angora some time ago fixed the population at 14 millions. Obviously it is a matter of life and death to be able to give a decisive answer to the suggestion that there is in Turkey a void designed by Providence to receive the teeming millions who will soon be able to make a livelihood in Italy. There is no need to suspect that the Belgian specialist, apparently a man of integrity and ability, has lent himself to any falsification. He has drawn the population and industries where he could, or foreigners observe its application, the results are probably accurate. Coincidentally it may be noted that the town and suburbs of Constantinople which were generally supposed to contain some 800,000 inhabitants, have been found to have just under 700,000. But (which would be my the wiser if the real figures for remote places (and that means three-quarters of Turkey) were exaggerated up to 100 per cent.?

4. The pre-war population of the Turkish Empire was thought to be something between 20 millions and 25 millions. Roughly half that population may be thought to have been detached by the Lausanne Treaty. The ravages of war have passed over large districts of what remains as Turkey. The Greek and Armenian populations have been extirpated, except in Constantinople. The western and coastal—*i.e.*, the more habitable—districts can be seen to be depopulated. The forbidden eastern half of Turkey is reported by the few who have penetrated it lately to be little better than a wilderness. All these things make one feel that, in spite of M. Jacquart's census, the population of Turkey is still a matter of speculation. One can say, perhaps, that it is at any rate not much less than 7 millions nor much more than 10 millions.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

Enclosure in No. 6

Population

THE first general census of Turkey was taken on the 28th October, 1927, and showed the total population of the republic to be 13,647,810, the excess of women over men being nearly 500,000. The population of each of the sixty two vilayets into which the country is divided was given as follows:—

In Europe

Adrianople	150,889	Stambul	803,993
Bodosto	132,120	Stambul City	699,602
Kirklar Eli	108,342		

In Asia

Artvin	[illegible]	Janik	275,258
Ertogrul	114,035	Tokat	263,618
Ordu	200,840	Seert	101,637
Sinop	582,009	Sivas	332,741
Essisehir	154,195	Samsun	372,592
Erzinjan	133,570	Tekirdag	293,052
Adana	227,652	Gazi Antab	213,381
Afion Kara Hissar	258,741	Kars	205,464
Aksarai	127,224	Kara Hissar Sharki	108,529
El Aziz	213,209	Karassi	420,713
Amassia	115,145	Kastamuni	335,600
Adalia	208,270	Kir Shehr	127,064
Urfa	208,539	Kaisarie	250,490
Aidin	211,604	Koja Ili	286,070
Ich Ili	91,031	Konia	502,228
Bayazid	103,062	Kutahia	[illegible]
Bitlis	[illegible]	Giumushane	121,957
Denizli	237,096	Karesina	166,116
Rizé	163,059	Mardin	182,773
Zonguldak	267,965	Mersina	120,511
Yozgad	208,628	Marash	184,958
Bordur	82,430	Mentishe	174,232
Diarbekr	193,304	Malatia	305,785
Sparta	144,804	Van	75,193
Heskari	[illegible]	Bitlis	490,545
Chorum	247,599	Chanak	185,533
Angora	404,725	Bolu	217,597
Changri	150,588	Erzerum	270,376
Jebeli Bereket	108,057	Sinope	146,055

[E 4845/257/44] No. 57

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 14.)

(No. 5[illegible])

Sir, *Constantinople, November 9, 1927*

IN my despatch No. 458 of the 30th August last I had the honour to report on the abortive plot conducted by one Haji Sami, who landed from Samos upon the Turkish coast and was immediately hunted down by gendarmes. The sequel has now been enacted by the condemnation to death of three of his accomplices. The conviction was to be expected. What is of some interest is the details of the plot which are now revealed. The conspirators, mostly Circassians on the proscribed list of 150 and resident in Greece, were to have perpetrated mutiny to Salonika, then to have made for a spot to the north of the line from Eski Shehr to Angora and there to have waited to blow up the Ghazi's train as he returned from Constantinople. They were joined by Haji Sami's brother, but appear to have been betrayed by villagers who [illegible] asked for food. The police seem to have rounded up all concerned in the conspiracy, but it may be that they are following up other [illegible] with the Ghazi may well feel that Abdul Hamid [illegible].

I have, &c.

GEORGE H. CLERK.

[E 4898/147/44] No. 58

Council of Foreign Bondholders to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 17.)

Sir, 17, *Moorgate, London, November 16, 1927*

AS your Excellency is aware, negotiations have been proceeding for more than two years in Paris, between the representatives of Foreign bondholders and the representatives of the Turkish Government, with a view to arriving at a settlement of the Turkish foreign debt.

We had hoped that we were nearing the conclusion of these negotiations on a basis more or less satisfactory to British bondholders, but we now learn that the French Government at the last moment has intervened with a proposal which amounts to the abrogation of the financial clauses of the Treaty of Lausanne, and to a modification of the terms agreed to by the Turkish delegation and the representatives of the bondholders and already embodied in the draft of the new contract.

The enclosed copy of a document presented on the 7th November to our representative in Paris by M. Regard, the acting president of the Association nationale des Porteurs français de Valeurs mobilières, contains the French proposal. M. Regard stated to Sir Adam Block, who is the representative of the Council of Foreign Bondholders, that he had received this paper from the Ministry of Finance and that it contained the views of the "Administrations" (*sic*) of Finance and of Foreign Affairs.

A perusal of this document shows without any doubt that the intention is, whilst abolishing the Council of the Debt, to substitute a new committee consisting of a large number of delegates appointed presumably on a basis of proportionality in which there will be one British representative.

Sir Adam Block stated that as representing the Council of Foreign Bondholders he was not qualified to discuss this matter with the French Government but at M. Regard's urgent request he furnished observations from the point of view of the Council of the Debt of which he is president. A copy, in English, of these observations is enclosed.

We entirely agree with the reply furnished by Sir Adam Block. The new council is to be vested with very large attributions, and cannot be reconciled with the mandate conferred on the Council of the Debt by the signatory Powers of the Treaty of Lausanne, a treaty accepted by Germany and Belgium.

It is therefore surprising that the French Government should [illegible] this radical change, in view of the fact that the Turkish delegation with the exception of demurring to the continued residence of the council in Turkey, respected the

terms of the treaty with regard to the existence and authority of the Council of the Debt.

We consider it our duty to resist this encroachment on the attributions of the Debt Council, which has existed since 1881 and has always given full satisfaction to everyone concerned, and as we are unable to enter into a conflict with the French Government, we are compelled to appeal to your Excellency for such steps as you may deem fit to take to uphold the views of the Council of Foreign Bondholders.

We have no objection to the creation of a purely consultative body, to which the Debt Council can refer in cases of need, but we are most decidedly opposed to the transfer to any other body of those interests of British bondholders which are attributed to the Council of the Debt under the Treaty of Lausanne. We further submit that if this new organisation is to be created in any form the Debt Council should remain an autonomous institution and not be reduced to a mere cypher as now contemplated.

In conclusion, we beg to observe that the creation of a new consultative body is a matter in which the Turkish Government has no concern and cannot, in our opinion, form the subject of negotiations with it. It has thus no place in the new contract between the bondholders and the Turkish Government.

We have reason to believe that the representative of the Italian bondholders is also in complete agreement with the views of the council as expressed above.

I have, &c.

BANBURY OF SOUTHAM,
Chairman of the Committee of Holders of Turkish Unified Bonds.

Enclosure 1 in No. 58

Constitution d'un Comité général des Porteurs de la Dette publique ottomane émise avant la Guerre.

POUR l'application de la présente convention, il est institué un "Comité général des Porteurs de la Dette publique ottomane émise avant la Guerre," dont le siège sera à Paris.

Il sera composé :

(*a*) Des membres du Conseil de la Dette.

(*b*) De trois membres français, nommés par l'Association nationale des Porteurs français de Valeurs mobilières.

(*c*) De deux membres représentant les porteurs allemands, qui seront nommés par l'Association . . . . , à Berlin.

(*d*) D'un membre représentant les porteurs belges, qui sera nommé par l'Association belge pour la Défense des Détenteurs de Fonds publics, à Anvers.

La désignation de chacun de ces membres sera notifiée au Gouvernement dont il est ressortissant, ainsi qu'aux divers Gouvernements débiteurs.

Les membres du comité seront nommés pour cinq ans, exceptionnellement, leur premier mandat expirera le 1er mars 1932, de manière à faire coïncider par la suite leur renouvellement avec celui du Conseil de la Dette.

Le comité élira chaque année son président, qui sera obligatoirement choisi parmi les membres français. Il sera rééligible sans limitation de durée.

Les membres du comité auront chacun une voix. Les décisions seront prises à la majorité des voix. En cas de partage, le président aura voix prépondérante.

D'une manière générale, le comité agira comme représentant de l'ensemble des porteurs et, en cette qualité, il aura tous pouvoirs :

1. Pour centraliser en qualité de trustee l'exercice et la représentation de tous les droits et intérêts attachés aux titres compris dans le règlement.
2. Pour détenir les obligations générales émises par la [illegible] en représentation de sa part de dette.
3. Pour prendre, au nom des porteurs, en cas de manquement de la Turquie à ses engagements, toutes mesures pour la défense de leurs intérêts.
4. Pour apporter à la présente convention, au cours de son exécution, telles modifications qui apparaîtraient nécessaires.

Le Conseil de la Dette est l'organe d'exécution de la présente convention. Toutefois, toutes les décisions concernant la mise en vigueur de la présente convention, la trésorerie, la mise en paiement des coupons, le fonctionnement de l'amortissement, la constitution du fonds de réserve spécial et le contrôle des gages, seront soumises par le Conseil de la Dette au Comité général, qui aura seul qualité pour statuer définitivement.

Le Comité général pourra d'ailleurs déléguer tous pouvoirs au conseil pour des buts déterminés.

Il publiera, tous les semestres, un état sommaire des recettes et des paiements, et, tous les ans, un compte rendu à l'intention des porteurs.

Le Comité général est d'ores et déjà autorisé à conclure au nom de l'ensemble des porteurs, avec les États autres que la Turquie des accords fixant les conditions du service de leur quote-part dans la dette publique ottomane, sans qu'il soit besoin d'une adhésion nouvelle des porteurs.

Enclosure 2 in No. 5.

Memorandum expressing the Views of the President of the Ottoman Debt Council, given to M. Regnault at his request.

BY the Treaty of Lausanne of the 24th July, 1923, which came into force on the 6th August, 1924 (Part II, section I, articles 46 to 57), the Council of the Ottoman Public Debt was expressly charged with the mission to encash the annuities paid by the debtor States and to receive the guarantees which these States were bound to furnish in order to assure the regular payment of the said annuities.

The treaty thus confided to the council, for the whole pre-war debt, the duties of a trustee in respect of these annuities and guarantees. This mission necessarily entailed its maintenance as an autonomous body. If such a mission was confided to the council, it was because the council, independently of its duties fixed by the Decree of Moharrem, had fulfilled, for almost the entire debt entitled "outside the decree," and at the pressing demand of all parties interested, these same duties of trustee.

The General Committee of Bondholders, now preconised by the "Administration des Finances," is vested with attributions which, in numerous instances, cannot be reconciled with the mandate conferred on the council by the signatory Powers of the Treaty of Lausanne, a treaty accepted by Belgium and Germany.

In fact, the General Committee is, in a very large measure, substituted for the council in its rôle of trustee, and even in respect to the control of the guarantees, which is an essential function of the council (article 48 of the treaty), the authority of the General Committee is superimposed on that of the council.

In reality, the constitution of such a committee, of which the members of the council are to become members, consecrates the destruction by absorption of the powers and autonomy of the council. This clearly means the destruction of the Treaty of Lausanne.

The council is bound further to point out the trouble and confusion which would result in the service of the debt in the very probable event of one or more debtor States, which, by the terms of the treaty, are responsible to the council, refusing to recognise the authority of the General Committee or to frame any convention therewith.

Always anxious to protect the interests of the bondholders of the Ottoman Public Debt, the council is not opposed to the constitution of a general committee, provided that the powers of this committee do not in any way infringe on the powers fixed by the documents in force, and that such a committee should work side by side with, and not placed in authority over, the council.

The relations between the council and the general committee ought to be defined by a protocol, which would respect the legal position of the council and the scope of the Treaty of Lausanne. This object can and must be attained without any interference on the part of Turkey, which has already fixed with the representatives of the bondholders the rôle of the council, and has never demanded the creation of such a committee.

Paris, November 10, 1927.

[E 5367/173/44]

No. 1.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 28.)

(No. 572.)

HIS Majesty's representative at Constantinople presents his compliments to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and has the honour to transmit herewith copy of despatch No. 63 from His Majesty's consul-general at Smyrna, dated the 31st October, respecting the Turkish attitude towards the Jews.

Constantinople, November 19, 1927.

Enclosure 1 in No. 1.

Consul-General Rabino to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 63.)

Smyrna, October 31, 1927.

SIR,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 49 of the 17th September last, I have the honour to forward to you herewith copy of an undated letter said to have been written sometime about the beginning of this month by the elders of the Jewish community in Constantinople to the president of the Jewish Communal Council at Smyrna.

2. This letter, which has come into my possession from a very reliable source, is interesting both in substance and in form. It will be observed that in the second paragraph the writers refer to the Jewish contribution towards the erection of the statue referred to therein as an obligation, thus clearly leading the reader to infer that the hint given them as to the figure their contribution was expected to reach must have been conveyed in pretty unequivocal terms.

3. This part of the letter stands in marked contrast with paragraph 5, which attempts to convey an impression of loyalty and attachment on the part of the Jews to the governing classes, and which was no doubt written with an eye to the possibility of its falling into hands other than those it was addressed to.

4. I am informed that all Jewish property at Aidin has been confiscated, and that the personal application made last year by leading members of the Jewish community to Ismet Pasha for its restoration has so far left the grievance unredressed. Acting on the convenient theory that the Jews, who owned real property up-country are absentee landlords, their property at Aidin, Magnesia, and Cassaba has been comprised in the category of abandoned property, despite the fact that the owners thereof are, and have all along been, resident in Smyrna.

5. No Jew is allowed to travel up-country without a permit from the Ministry of the Interior, and I believe it can safely be said that the majority of applications for leave so to travel are unsuccessful.

6. In matters scholastic, it would appear that while, on the one hand, the Turk Odjaki is sparing no effort to vulgarise the Turkish language among Jews and other Moslem and non-Moslem Turks, yet no Jewish pupils are admitted into Turkish schools. Per contra, Turkish pupils abound in Jewish schools.

7. One grievance, among others, about which the Jews are very sore is the systematic incitement to race hatred fostered by the Turkish press. Whenever the Jewish community have complained about it to the authorities, the latter have taken their stand upon the principle of the liberty of the press and their inability to interfere with its freedom. This refusal to put a stop to a campaign of abuse and misrepresentation inclines the Jews to fear that the animosity bred thereby may conceivably run to the length of a pogrom in times of trouble.

8. As mentioned in a former despatch, the Turkish nationality of the Jew is no protection against his dismissal from employment in railway and other administrations. While Jews are made to engage Turks, Turks are forbidden to employ Jews.

9. The following is one instance, no doubt among others, of the illegal exactions the Jews have to submit to: About a year ago the predecessor of the present commandant of police requested the rabbi to see to it that his co-religionists paid for a Fiat motor-car he had just purchased, and the Jews had to foot the bill. Deprived of protection against such arbitrary impositions, and foreseeing that the Turk is not likely to forgo the advantages of the higher standard of life attained within recent

times through the easy process of loot and misappropriation, the Jews live in an ever-present fear of spoliation.

10. Another instance of a similar nature is that of a Jewish bank manager who was asked to contribute (1) to the Turk Odjaki towards the foundation of night classes for Jews; (2) towards the establishment of a Jewish school to teach Turkish to Jews, (3) towards the Reserve Officers' Fund—all within one week.

11. Such cases of compulsory contributions are of frequent occurrence. The Jew is now getting used to them. When he finds that he cannot stand the strain any longer, he seeks an early opportunity to shift his activities to some other country where he feels that both his person and his property are safer.

12. I shall not fail to report any further developments in the situation.

I have, &c.
H. L. RABINO

Enclosure 2 in No. 59.

Elders of Jewish Community, Constantinople, to M. Gomel, President of Jewish Communal Council, Smyrna.

M. le Président,

NOUS avons l'honneur de porter à votre connaissance qu'une commission spéciale s'est formée au sein du Grand Rabbinat de Constantinople à l'effet d'ouvrir une souscription parmi tous les israélites de Turquie pour compléter la somme nécessaire à l'érection d'une statue à Angora de notre illustre Président de la République le grand Gazi Moustapha Kemal Pacha.

Les israélites de Turquie doivent participer à l'érection de cette statue pour un montant de 25,000 livres turques.

La souscription est déjà ouverte à l'orst et Tepe.

Les signataires de cette lettre ont été chargés par la susdite commission de recueillir les souscriptions de nos coreligionnaires se trouvant dans différentes villes de la Turquie.

Nous faisons appel à votre patriotisme pour que vous ouvriez cette souscription le plus tôt possible parmi les habitants de votre ville. Nos coreligionnaires, les que tous y prendront part avec le plus d'ardeur et d'empressement et voudront ainsi donner un témoignage éclatant de reconnaissance et de respect au fondateur de la République turque et au grand Réformateur qui fait marcher le pays à pas de géant vers le progrès et l'indépendance économique.

Vous voudrez bien nous faire parvenir les fonds recueillis dès que la souscription sera close, au plus tard dans le délai de dix jours.

Veuillez, &c.
J. NEGO
SORIANO

[E 5071/402/44] No. 60.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 28.)

(No. 579.)

Sir, *Angora, November 22, 1927.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 487 of the 21st September last, I have the honour to report that three days ago the police arrested some fifty-seven Communists in Constantinople, Smyrna and Adana, and a list of the most important names appeared in the press next day. Three of these people are employees of Arcos and one of the Soviet Navigation Company, though all five are apparently Turkish subjects.

2. Yesterday, at the close of a farewell visit before my departure on leave, I asked the Minister for Foreign Affairs what answer I should make to my friends in London, who would be wondering whether Turkey was going to follow our example. His Excellency laughed and said I must not encourage false hopes. Turkish relations with Moscow were as good as ever, but—and here he spoke with earnestness—the Turkish Government were resolutely determined not to allow the existence of the smallest Communist cell in the republic.

3. The incident is an interesting example of the very definite limits put by the Turkish Government to Russian influence here.

4. I might add that I have been informed by a member of the Hungarian Legation that the Soviet Embassy in Angora has wasted no time in organising the large number of Hungarian workmen into Communist cells, and that the Hungarian Minister, as well as the Turkish authorities, are having a considerable amount of trouble in consequence, as these workmen constitute the only cheap and efficient skilled labour available for the hurried programme of construction in which the Government and municipality are at present engaged.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

[E 5073/402/44] No. 61.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 28.)

(No. 581.)

Sir, *Constantinople, November 23, 1927.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 579 of the 22nd instant, I have the honour to enclose a leading article in the "République"* of the 21st instant, describing the struggle in Russia between Communist ideals and hard facts. The conclusions are sensible and worthy of note as coming from a Turkish Deputy.

2. Possibly as an answer to this outspoken statement, the "Milliet" to-day published a laudatory account by Mahmoud Bey, Deputy for Sert, of his experiences at Moscow, where he has been apparently impressed both by M. Chicherin's intimate knowledge of Turkish affairs and by the necessity for keeping a united Turco-Russian front during the next few troubled years. Mahmoud Bey ends his article with M. Chicherin's last words, viz.:—

"Bref, les complications survenant dans les relations internationales sont incomparablement plus graves qu'il y a deux ans. La Russie et la Turquie doivent plus que jamais être sur le qui vive."

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

[E 5075/17/44] No. 62.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received November 28.)

(No. 583. Confidential.)

Sir, *Constantinople, November 23, 1927.*

A LOCAL paper publishes to-day a telegram from Athens reporting an interpellation in the Chamber about the naval "préparatifs fébriles" of Turkey, and it may well be that the knowledge of the very considerable sums which Turkey is spending each year in military, naval and aerial armament has in part prompted the Greek overtures for a Turco-Hellenic Naval Agreement, reported in the enclosure to your despatch No. 759 of the 12th November last.

2. The Turkish budget estimates for 1928-29 indicate, out of a total of roughly £25 million sterling, the following sums for defence:—

Navy, £550,000 sterling.
Army, £6,400,000 sterling.
Military factories, £550,000 sterling, a total of £7,500,000 sterling, equivalent to 33 per cent. of the budget.

3. To this sum must be added approximately £1,250,000 sterling, which the local press says has been raised during the past eighteen months by the aviation lotteries for purchase of aeroplanes, and is being expended for that purpose in France and Germany. The same source states that Turkey now possesses 200 modern aeroplanes, each valued at £4,000 to £5,000 sterling. As the lottery continues to be well patronised, the Turkish air fleet should be kept adequately supplied during the next few years, though casualties are doubtless heavy.

4. Turkey is building near Angora, as fast as funds permit—and, it must be added, on long-term credits granted her by German and Danish firms—a large

* Not printed.

arsenal which her military leaders dream of equipping with every device for making, as well as keeping up to date and repairing every form of warlike weapon from machine guns to heavy artillery

5 Near Cesarea the German aviation firm of Junker has contracted to build a modern factory for the repair and eventually the construction of aeroplane engines and parts while the extensive additions to the railway workshops at Eski Shehir are meant to house the country as nearly as possible independent of outside supplies of material for her important arterial communications at least in so far as repairs are concerned

6 The Gulf of Smyrna is now a military zone while such zones abound around the coast and include the entire Gulf of Ismid where lies the Kavaz (formerly the Germa Goeben) on which the Ministry of Marine is expending large sums in an attempt to restore her to her pre war state A recent article from the pen of a renegade Italian journalist of the name of Prunas whose chief trade is his fabricated knowledge of naval matters shows that it may yet happen that the ship is required to have a most powerful part in the Eastern Mediterranean

7 In addition Turkey is purchasing from Holland a number of modern submarines the first of which will shortly reach its destination

8 Over the Heraclea Angora and Sakaria Sivas Cesarea Railways are completed but it will have repairs and is assessing herself throughout Russia and the Black Sea of the Ukraine is almost still beyond her power to make headway

9 On paper the Turkish programme of reforms looks formidable enough and it is said that Greece would like to restrain in some way these so started preparations on the part of her neighbour for the next war The extent of the completion of this programme depends on the help from Turkey's solidarity to balance her budget despite the ever increasing expenditure she is incurring in obtaining relief from the terms which entitled such successive work and that such efforts are not the most safe for dictating a forward strategic programme is not at all enough to set Greek anxiety at rest

10 Meanwhile the trumpet note of the press articles from the Millet * of the 23rd November which emphasises the point at which Greece is reported to have been brought by the news of the approaching repeal of the Goeben bodes ill for any new Hellenic agreement or arrangements

11 But to my mind the real difficulty in the way of a Turco Greek naval holiday lies in the fact that Turkey faces the Black Sea as well as the Ægean

12 I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens

I have &c
GEORGE R CLERK

E 5179 257 44 No

Mr Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain (Received December 5)

(No 588)

Sir *Constantinople November 30, 1927*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that martial law in the eastern vilayets came to an end on the 22nd instant, and the official press announced that it would not be renewed at any rate on the old terms A Bill for the appointment of an inspector general for the eastern vilayets to reside at Diarbekir, is stated to be almost ready and the Government has chosen for this new office one Ibrahim Tali Bey a Deputy, who is one of the chief organisers of the People's party and was for a short time Minister at Warsaw It is announced that when the new inspector general and his advisers have had time to study the situation martial law may be decreed for a restricted area Meanwhile although martial law does not legally exist it no doubt prevails in effect The only exceptional measure now in force is the so-called 'Law for the consolidation of public tranquillity' which in very general terms enables the Government with the approval of the Ghazi and without referring to the Assembly to repress any form of reaction or sedition but this law applies to the whole of Turkey

2 What real progress the Government is making with the pacification of that district which it refuses to call Kurdistan, it is very hard to judge The deported families of Kurdish rebels dribble in here a hundred persons at a time for despatch

* Not printed

to places considered safe like Smyrna and Manissa where they doubtless battle with privation Schemes are afoot for bringing a few thousand losses in eastern vilayets where the writ of Angora barely runs for immigrants from the Caucasus who will probably never arrive One hundred and fifty young doctors who have just qualified are to be sent to Kurdish districts, and Turkish kids (? ojaks) are to be used to inoculate proper notions in the Kurds But it must be supposed that these measures will be applied only on the fringe of Kurdistan An inspector general may be safe enough at Diarbekir but in the heart of the Kurdish district the position must be very different The strict embargo on travel the successful rebel attack on Bayazid and the fact that about half the entire army is in Kurdistan speak for themselves The Kurdish problem is likely to be with us for a long time yet

3 I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Acting High Commissioner for Iraq and to His Majesty's Minister at Tehran

I have &c
R H HOARE

E 5181 17 44 No 61

Mr Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain (Received December 5)

(No 591)

Sir, *Constantinople, November 30 1927*

THE Turkish Government having arranged to effectuate the deliverance of Aetos Kapi on the 25th instant a deputation of officers and others left Constantinople to spend Christmas at the frontiers

2 At the point of Kuch Burgas where the Orient Railway enters Greek territory on the evening of 34 Kilometre prior to entering Turkish territory the train was stopped by Greek officials because it was betagged and the officials wished to compel the train to be searched by customs officers It transpired somewhat later that the editors of two Constantinople papers being amongst the delegates to Turkey was not an item appealing to the Turkish press shocking accounts of this incident

3 Interpellations in the Grand National Assembly have taken place and diplomatic representations to Greece are promised but both Governments are no doubt in fact the treatment that would have been meted out to a Hellenic delegation crossing Turkish territory in similar conditions for a kindred purpose To vehement demands in the Assembly that this insult should be met by a rectification of the frontier which would preclude any possibility of its repetition Ismet Pasha replied prudently The Government he said would answer any insult to the Assembly and to the flag by all the means at its disposal but it was satisfied that there had been no such affront It was examining the political and legal questions involved by the holding up of the train and regret he relied on to cede not a particle of Turkey's rights

I have &c
R H HOARE

E 5192 5192 44 No 65

Sir G Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain Received December 5)

(No 795)

HIS Majesty's representative at Constantinople presents his compliments to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and has the honour to transmit herewith copy of a despatch from Consul Adrianople respecting the recent arrival of Moslem refugees from Bulgaria

A copy has also been sent to His Majesty's Minister at Sofia

Constantinople November 30 1927

Enclosure in No. 65.

Consul Dawkins to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 41.)

Adrianople, November 23, 1927.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report the arrival here during the past few weeks of several thousand Moslem refugees from Southern Bulgaria. It was not until a week or two ago that there were enough of these people here to attract attention; but recently they have been coming in much larger numbers than at first.

2. I asked my Bulgarian colleague casually to explain this movement, which did not seem to tally with his usual stories of the prosperity, happiness and general popularity of Moslems in his country. He told me that the fact was that of course there was a certain pauper element among these people, and it was they who allowed themselves to be attracted by Turkish propaganda (especially in the Kirjali district of Southern Bulgaria) offering free lands and houses in Eastern Thrace; while the richer ones of course remained. In any case only 5,000 had come over in the last five months; and then he added, rather unnecessarily one might think, that the Turkish authorities agreed that this figure was correct.

3. I then asked the Vali's secretary for information, and was told what I did not know, viz., that about ten weeks ago the Turkish Government had for the first time agreed with the Bulgarian Government to accept such immigrants; and also, what I suspected, that they were, in genera at least, if not in all cases, being forcibly ejected from their homes by refugee elements already in Bulgaria. Ekrem Bey thought that by now, in view of recent arrivals, rather more than 5,000 were here, most of them temporarily installed in the old military barracks. The Vali has written urgently to Angora asking for credits and instructions, and a local private committee has been formed. But the latter, owing to the general poverty of the town, can do very little and it is to be feared that these people will have a very hard time this winter. They are already beginning to beg from door to door and collect even grass as fuel.

4. Ekrem Bey also told me that, as there were (?) 120,000 Moslems in Bulgaria, it was most important that the Bulgarian authorities should at once see that emigrants were not stripped of their belongings before departure, as seems to have been the case up to now, and in general that the agreement was applied in a reasonable manner.

5. Here it might be observed that, as regards possible reprisals, for once at least the Turks seem powerless, as, since the very large Bulgarian population of Eastern Thrace was thrown out during the Balkan wars, there only remain here now a paltry few hundred Turkish citizens of Bulgarian race and a hundred or so Bulgarian subjects.

6. I asked Ekrem Bey why the Turkish Legation in Sofia could not intervene more effectually, but he replied that obviously it could do little or nothing to stop victimisation carried out in remote districts and on such a scale.

7. It would seem, therefore, in the absence of further authoritative information, likely that all this is only one more of those folk-movements which, however nicely they may be arranged on paper, are so apt to turn to tragedy in their execution.

8. I shall not fail to follow up these events and report further on them.

I have, &c.

J. M. DAWKINS.

[E 5303/255/44] No. 66.

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 12.)

(No. 606.)

Constantinople, December 7, 1927.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith translation of an article* by the editor of the "Ikdam" which appeared a month ago on the subject of Turkey's national finances. Djevdet Bey is a person of no great importance and I have not yet seen that any of his colleagues in journalism have dared follow his example and say what every dispassionate observer thinks: that there is little hope of any serious progress unless there is a radical redistribution of public expenditure.

* Not printed

2. The burden of Djevdet Bey's lament is that in a country where agricultural methods are utterly primitive and education is centuries behind the times, it is futile to allot to the Departments of Agriculture and Education such paltry sums as under £T. 4 million and a little over £T. 6,500,000 respectively, whereas national defence (including internal security) absorbs over £T. 82 million. He also hints that the railways which are being built will serve no useful economic purpose.

3. All this is very true, but the Ghazi and the generals who surround him are rightly convinced that they won their independence with the sword and are doubtless equally certain that an efficient army is their only guarantee that this independence will be respected by envious neighbours.

I have, &c.

R. H. HOARE.

[E 5304/257/44] No. 67.

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 12.)

(No. 607.)

Constantinople, December 7, 1927.

Sir,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 588 of the 30th November last, I have the honour to report that the new Inspector-General of the Eastern Vilayets is to be a kind of super-vali, not only with the usual powers over gendarmerie and police but also with the military forces under his orders. Military forces under him will be reduced to the normal establishment, but the gendarmerie will be doubled. The Vilayets of El Aziz (Kharput), Urfa, Bitlis, Hekkiari, Sert, Diarbekir, Mardin and Van are to be his province, which means that the northern part of the disturbed area is to remain under military rule. At the same time, the Assembly has passed a law which firstly permits the return to their homes of approved Kurdish deportees who have behaved themselves in the west, and, secondly, gives rebels three months' grace in which to come in with their families. As regards the deportees, Mr. Matthews reports from Trebizond that they amount to only about 1,500 and consist almost entirely of women and children, being the families of beys and aghas who have been killed.

2. This new policy, with its measure of conciliation, seems to imply a recognition that the ruthlessness employed hitherto has not been a success. It is to be supposed that it is in order to introduce a little statesmanship into the ordering of Kurdish affairs that the portfolio of the Interior has been given to Shukri Kaya Bey, who, until lately, has been associated with foreign rather than internal affairs. In introducing his new measures in the Assembly on the 5th instant, Shukri Kaya Bey maintained that in the zone of the new inspector-general acts of rebellion had given place to nothing worse than cattle-raids. The feudal system had been suppressed and the time had come for a more normal administration. To continue the military régime would be a sign of weakness. Things were now tranquil, but further trouble in the spring was to be anticipated. The new measures denoted a transition stage between the rebellion and complete normality.

3. On the 5th instant the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs volunteered to Mr. Helm observations on this new policy which are not uninteresting. The new Government, he said, had decided to abolish martial law in these areas and their whole attention was at present directed towards the elaboration of the new system of administration. He was not yet able to give any details—these had not yet been decided upon—but Ibrahim Tali Bey was to be Governor-General of the Eastern Provinces and he would have very extensive powers. He was a calm and capable person, who in his time had been an army doctor and later a diplomat. The policy of transfer of Kurdish families was to be modified and the forthcoming changes could not fail to be of advantage to Turkey and to her south-eastern neighbour, Iraq. He could not say whether the existing restrictions on travelling in the eastern vilayets would immediately be raised, but it would only be a question of time before they were. Turkey was the greatest sufferer under the present regulations, which had already been in force too long, and the Government was determined to get the Trebizond-Bayazid route opened at the earliest possible moment—that was an economic necessity for Turkey. A military régime was all very well, but it seemed to him that the good they did in one direction was often more than counter-balanced by the damage they did in others. The military were, by their training, too hidebound.

I have, &c.

R. H. HOARE.

[E 5357/73/44] No. 68.

Sir E. Howard to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 14.)

(No. 2167.)

Sir, *Washington, December* 2, 1927.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that Ahmed Moukhtar Bey, the newly-appointed Turkish Ambassador to the United States, arrived in Washington on the 29th ultimo. As it was feared that an attempt might be made upon his life, he was met on his arrival at New York by a fleet of armed policemen on motor cycles. He did not even stay in New York overnight, but was ushered straight into a train for the capital, where he arrived at 12·30 A.M. He was escorted by detectives to a side entrance at the Wardman Park Hotel, where he is residing at present. He is accompanied by Bedy Bey, counsellor of Embassy, Kadey Bey, first secretary, and Kemal Djenanni Bey, third secretary.

2. On the 30th he presented his credentials to the President and paid an official call at this Embassy.

3. His arrival was marked by a violent outburst on the part of Mr. James W. Gerard, former Ambassador of the United States to Germany, and vice-president of the American Committee opposed to the Lausanne Treaty. Mr. Gerard, in a statement to the press, charged Moukhtar Bey with having been a member of President Kemal's mission at Moscow in 1919 which entered into an agreement with the Soviets by which Turkey attacked the Armenian Republic, and as a result of which 30,000 Christians were killed. Mr. Gerard also attacked the part Moukhtar Bey had played in 1921 in concluding treaties between Turkey and the Soviet Republics for the division of Armenia. In the circumstances, said Mr. Gerard, the presence of Moukhtar Bey "should be considered as an intolerable insult to the American people," and he went on to say that, in his opinion, the Senate would find that the action of the State Department in resuming diplomatic relations with Turkey was illegal and unconstitutional. He accused the Federal Administration "of robbing the Senate of its concurrent voice in the making of treaties" and asserted that this was done to enable certain unnamed oil interests to "grab vast oil deposits." I annex copy of a cutting from the "New York Times" of the 1st December reporting Mr. Gerard's accusations.*

4. Mr. Gerard's diatribe does not appear to have met with much response. Mr. Morganthau, former United States Ambassador to Turkey, has declined to enter the controversy, and the "New York Tribune" and the "Baltimore Sun" have both published editorials approving the action of the Administration in arranging for the interchange with Turkey of accredited diplomats. The "New York Tribune" presses for ratification of the Lausanne Treaty.

5. The Washington correspondent of the "New York Herald Tribune" reports that the Secretary of State sees no basis for Mr. Gerard's contention that the United States Government should not recognise the new Turkish Ambassador. Mr. Kellogg is stated to have denied with emphasis that there was anything unconstitutional or illegal about the State Department's action in connection with the exchange of Ambassadors between this country and Turkey.

I have, &c.
ESME HOWARD.

[E 5420/5192/44] No. 69.

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 19.)

(No. 611.)

HIS Majesty's representative at Constantinople presents his compliments to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and has the honour to transmit herewith copy of despatch No. 44 from His Majesty's consul, Adrianople, dated the 5th December, respecting refugees from Bulgaria.

Constantinople, December 12, 1927.

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* Not printed

Enclosure in No. 69.

Consul Dawkins to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 44.)

Sir, *Adrianople, December* 5, 1927.

WITH further reference to my despatch No. 41 of the 23rd ultimo, regarding the refugees from Bulgaria, I have the honour to report that they continue to arrive and that I have had an interview with the Vali on the subject.

2. The Vali made somewhat vague replies to my questions and left me with the impression that he could have said more, but did not wish to admit quite how embarrassing the situation was. He thought that the reason for the present exodus was probably due to pressure exerted in Bulgaria by the Committee of Refugees from Eastern Thrace, and not to any agreement between the two Governments. In any case, Turkey could not refuse to accept within her frontiers any Moslems who said they came as "refugees"—excepting, of course, those from Western Thrace, who were by treaty non-exchangeable. He thought that the reports of refugees having been robbed and maltreated were probably exaggerated from a few individual cases.

3. However this may be, the local newspaper publishes pitiful accounts of their sufferings and appeals to private charity to do its best to alleviate them.

4. It appears further that a certain number of refugees, but much fewer, are arriving from Yugoslavia also, for whom some accommodation is being made in the suburb of Karagatch.

I have, &c.
J. McG. DAWKINS.

[E 5422/73/44] No. 70.

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 19.)

(No. 614.)

Sir, *Constantinople, December* 12, 1927.

THE Turkish press has been somewhat ruffled by the demonstrations organised against Moukhtar Bey, Turkish Ambassador to America, upon his landing in New York.

2. Besides accusing ex-Ambassador Gerard of leading this anti-Turkish propaganda for personal reasons, not the least of which is a desire to make money out of the subscriptions wrung out of the American public for the succour of Armenians, Chaldeans and other "imaginary races," the "Républiqne" is careful to lay stress upon the purely Armenian and Greek character of the agitation which is elsewhere ascribed to interior politics only.

3. The American Embassy has issued a communiqué stating that Mr. Gerard did not represent the American Government and did not indeed speak in its name; but the fact is commented upon that, by refusing credits for the Constantinople Embassy, Congress could even now upset the agreement made between the two Governments last year, whereby Ambassadors were accredited to Constantinople and Washington despite the refusal of Congress to ratify the Treaty of Lausanne.

4. The "Milliet" of the 9th December calls the explanation of the American Embassy insufficient, and ridicules the statement that the American police could not have prevented the incident. It is therefore probable that the Ghazi's inner circle would like some further act of reparation for the "insult offered to the Turkish Ambassador"; but the only likely result will be the baiting of the Armenian community in Turkey till the "insult" has been forgotten.

I have, &c.
R. H. HOARE.

P.S. *December* 13, 1927.—Since this despatch was written laudatory articles about America and the assistance she can give to new Turkey have appeared in several papers.

Emphasis is laid upon the friendliness of the United States Government and, Mr. Grew having seen the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Angora on the 10th of this month, it may be assumed that the incident is satisfactorily settled for the time being so far as Turkey is concerned.

It is a curious comment on Turkish mentality that the very paper that calls upon America to help reconstruct modern Turkey in a neighbouring article of the same issue decries the principal American import—Ford motor cars and tractors—as being shoddy.

R. H. H.

[E 5423/749/44] No. 71.

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 19.)

(No. 615.)

HIS Majesty's representative at Constantinople presents his compliments to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and has the honour to transmit herewith copy of despatch No. 45 from His Majesty's consul, Adrianople, dated the 6th December, respecting the present state of the town of Adrianople.

Constantinople, December 13, 1927.

Enclosure in No. 71.

Consul Dawkins to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 45.)

Sir, *Adrianople, December* 6, 1927.

IN view of the attention which has recently been drawn to the local frontier lines by the incident at Kuleli Burgas, I have the honour to transmit herewith an article from the "Milliet," which appears to describe the present state of the town fairly well.* I have ventured to mark the more notable passages. I further transmit a map showing at a glance the frontiers laid down by the Treaty of Lausanne,† which have inflicted such a deadly blow on the prosperity of the district.

2. In case these frontiers ever come up for revision, peaceful or otherwise, I venture most humbly to make the following observations, hoping that I may be excused for trenching somewhat freely upon purely diplomatic ground and among matters which are perhaps as much those of opinion as of fact.

3. In the first place, it seems very doubtful indeed whether, with the actual frontiers, any people would be capable of ever restoring to the town the prosperity to which it might be said, by its perfect position, to have a natural right. In comparison, at least with its former splendour, it is nothing more than a strip of "no man's land." It seems even possible that it may be part of Turkish high politics to make the "front door" of their country as unattractive as possible in the eye of covetous neighbours. In any case, the days are over when Adrianople was the natural economic centre of a wide area under one sovereignty; and already there is a tendency to divert even the small remaining trade to centres nearer Constantinople.

4. The only practical method of restoring prosperity, but then only in part, seems to be the artificial one alluded to at the end of the "Milliet" article, viz., to make the place an educational and training centre for national purposes; but I do not know how far this is practical or likely.

5. The project of the construction of a railway from a point east of Kuleli Burgas viâ Adrianople to Svilengrad, as contemplated by article 107 of the Treaty of Lausanne, and so avoiding Greek territory altogether, has often been hinted at in the Turkish press as likely to be carried out; but, although the Turks might be able to divert through traffic to the line, it is difficult to see what other real advantages they would gain from it, beyond the freedom from the present petty squabbles with the Greeks. There would not appear to be any military advantage in so exposed a line, and as for the economic one, it might be observed that there is very little trade now and perhaps not likely to be much more by the existence of such a line. Moreover, as it would require at least 80 kilom. of construction, as well as one or two important bridges, it would cost much money.

6. The true but unhappy conclusion may therefore perhaps be that no peaceful means of restoring the district are ever likely to be found, if neither Greeks nor Turks

* Not printed. † Not reproduced.

will yield an inch of land and nothing more is heard of the hopes held out to Bulgaria, at the time of the signature of the Sèvres Treaty, that she should have access to the sea down the Maritsa valley.

I have, &c.
J. McG. DAWKINS.

[E 5426/74/65] No. 72.

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 19.)

(No. 618.)

Sir, *Constantinople, December* 14, 1927.

IT is so rarely that one obtains first-hand information from the eastern vilayets that it may be of interest to report a conversation of which I have learnt from a reliable source. A gendarmerie major on short leave from Diarbekir told a friend that he was disgusted with the work he had had to do and that he wanted to be transferred. He had been in the eastern provinces all through the period of tranquillisation and was tired of slaughtering men, women and children. The country was now terrorised, but would never remain quiet if the large military force there was removed. The Kurds had hidden 90 per cent. of their arms.

2. The major continued that he had interrogated many prisoners and had charged them with acting under British instigation. They had always repudiated this. They had said that they liked the British, of whom they had heard as just people in Irak, but they had not been influenced by the British. It was entirely on their own initiative that they were in arms against the present irreligious Government of Turkey.

3. If the major's appreciation of Kurdish mentality is approximately correct, the outlook for Chukri Kaya's first move towards a return to normality in the eastern vilayets (see my despatch No. 607 of the 7th instant) is a poor one.

I have, &c.
R. H. HOARE.

[E 5558/255/44] No. 73.

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 28.)

(No. 633.)

Sir, *Constantinople, December* 21, 1927.

THE Turkish Government is evidently toying with the idea of establishing a State bank.

2. Some time ago the project was mooted and it was then rumoured that this bank would have extensive privileges, including the sole right to issue notes as legal tender.

3. Since then various statements have appeared in the local press concerning the source whence the requisite capital would be obtained.

4. One theory was that the Ish Bankassi, in which the Ghazi is personally interested, together with most of his personal adherents, would be made the basis for the project, the compulsory deposits to be made by insurance companies, estimated at a total of approximately £100,000 sterling, being used to supplement existing capital.

5. Another was that a new bank, with headquarters in the old Ottoman Public Debt Buildings, would be started with funds obtained by a loan on the State jewels to be obtained from abroad. The origin of this story was no doubt that a French expert was recently engaged to value the gems and other relics now lodged in the Old Seraglio. His estimate of their total worth is stated to have been approximately £200,000 sterling—no large sum for the capital of a State bank.

6. Still a third rumour is that the capital is to be found by utilising the surplus which should remain after exchanging the old note currency for a new issue which is now in process of being put into circulation.

7. The circulation of the old notes was supposed to be £T. 150 million, but of this the Turkish Government hopes, it is said, to have in hand about £T. 25 million of the new money, since a considerable amount of the old notes must have been destroyed in one way or another during the troubles through which the population

of this country has passed during the last ten years or more. This amount, equivalent to approximately £2,500,000 sterling, would perhaps suffice for the purpose named above; but as yet the project appears to be still in the nebulous stage, although it makes a natural appeal as a means of "freeing Turkey from foreign financial domination."

I have, &c.
R. H. HOARE.

[E 5560/257/44] No. 74.

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 28.)

(No. 636.)
Sir, *Constantinople, December 22, 1927.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 571 of the 17th November last, I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of an article from the local press which tends to show that the minds of the Ghazi's advisers are not yet at rest as regards the agitation which exiled Turks are carrying on against the present régime.*

2. It will be observed that in the present instance the plotters are accused of using the Khalifate question as a cloak, particularly in Egypt, and that France is given as the base of their operations, although Halide Edib, Adnan Bey and the others now in England are implicated.

3. The complaint that France is the base of operations is of some interest in view of the language held by Ismet Pasha, Tewfik Rushdi Bey and Shukri Kaya Bey, the Minister of the Interior, to Rauf Chadirchi Bey, Minister of Justice in Irak, who has just paid a visit to Angora.

4. The ostensible object of his visit was to discuss with the Turkish Minister of Justice certain technical questions, such as the service of writs, but it seemed reasonable to afford him an opportunity of making the acquaintance of some of the leading members of the Turkish Government. Mr. Knox reports that, in the course of long conversations, they all expressed irritation with French policy in Syria, which they said was in sharp contrast with that of Great Britain in Irak. They do not appear to have given any specific instances, but they no doubt had in mind the fact that a number of proscribed Turks are comfortably installed at Aleppo, where they produce a newspaper violently hostile to existing institutions in Turkey.

5. Rauf Bey was assured that Turkey had no expansionist aims and desired nothing more than to have the best possible relations with Irak. Shukri Kaya Bey spoke spontaneously of the recent frontier incidents, for which he expressed great regret. He had given orders for a strict investigation and for the punishment of the guilty. He would take all possible measures to put a stop to frontier incidents, and he hoped, as soon as he had passed through the Assembly various urgent measures affecting his Department, to visit the eastern vilayets and look into frontier questions himself. Rauf Bey replied that he hoped his Excellency would be able to extend his journey to Bagdad, a suggestion which appeared greatly to please the Minister. I had previously ascertained from Sir H. Dobbs, when he passed through Constantinople, that he would welcome such a visit.

6. In all his conversations Rauf Bey appears to have heard nothing but good of Great Britain. Turkey's advice to Irak—Ismet Pasha was especially emphatic on this point—was to avoid idealism and to attach herself to Great Britain in a sensible and realistic policy. It should always be an easy matter to satisfy the very moderate British desiderata.

7. It seems almost churlish, in view of all these fair words, to close this report by stating that in spite of frequent representations since Sir G. Clerk reported his conversation with the Minister for Foreign Affairs (Angora telegram No. 8 of the 22nd November last) regarding the Arish and Nerva incidents it has proved impossible to obtain any definite reply and that I have just learnt from Sir H. Dobbs, whom I had requested to furnish me with the names of the Arish captives, that they have "escaped" into Irak, but not until the 13th December, over eight weeks after the incident occurred.

I have, &c.
R. H. HOARE.

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* Not printed.

[E 5562/5192/44] No. 75.

Sir W. Erskine to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received December 28.)

(No. 191.)
Sir, *Sofia, December 22, 1927.*

I QUESTIONED the Minister for Foreign Affairs to-day regarding the exodus of Turks from Bulgaria reported by His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople in his despatch No. 595 of the 30th November.

2. M. Bouroff replied that it was true that a number of Moslems from the south of Bulgaria had recently emigrated to Eastern Thrace, but he put their numbers at considerably below 5,000.

3. The movement was the result of Turkish propaganda and was contrary to the wishes of the Bulgarian Government, who were doing all they could to stop it. They were now refusing passports except to such as had already sold their possessions, and would thus, if they stayed in Bulgaria, become a burden on the country. The movement was confined to the Pomaks—Moslems of Bulgarian race—who lived precariously in the mountains in the neighbourhood of the Turkish frontier and were tempted by the offer of free allotments in Thrace. All attempts to induce the prosperous and contented Turkish inhabitants of Northern and Central Bulgaria to emigrate had entirely failed.

4. M. Bouroff added that the Turkish Minister had recently asked him to revoke the decision to withhold passports from intending emigrants, invoking a clause of the Turco-Bulgarian Agreement concluded in 1925, which recognised the right of the Turkish inhabitants of Bulgaria to emigrate. He had pointed out to the Turkish Minister that he had overlooked a note attached to the clause in question to the effect that, in case of a difference of opinion as to the race of intending emigrants, the matter should be decided by the test of their language. The Pomaks only speak Bulgarian.

5. In reply to my question whether the vacated farms might not be used for the settlement of Bulgarian refugees, M. Bouroff replied that they could not be used for this purpose as they were mostly situated within 50 kilom. of the Greek frontier within which zone the settlement of refugees was prohibited, that the emigrants were mostly shepherds, and that such farms as there were were too poor and inaccessible to be suitable for refugees from the fertile districts of Western Thrace and Macedonia.

6. It is thus clear that there is no ground for the suggestion made by the Vali of Adrianople that the exodus is due to pressure exerted in Bulgaria on behalf of the refugees.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
WILLIAM ERSKINE.

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